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NEWSPAPER

Taxpayers Forced to Spend $200,000 On Accommodations For Bobby Kennedy in N.Y.

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Now Robert F. Kennedy's Hannibalian trumpet blows: "Ask not what you can do for the U.S. Post Office. Ask what the Post Office can do for you." And it's plenty—when Bobby throws his weight around and lets neither hail, rain, sleet nor the gloom of night stay him from the swift completion of his ride on the gravy train.

Conscience and money somehow do not seem to mix in politics. But this writer, at least, finds it especially galling when the very rich—silently, oh, so silently—spend our money when they should spend theirs. We peasants who write letters could buy four million stamps and send our billets-doux from here to eternity for $200,000. Yet that's what Mr. Kennedy now has the gall to nick us for in the New York Post Office, totally unrevealed. Post Office regulations state that "limited office accommodations" at the Grand Central Federal Building, 110 East 45th St., be "made available when convenient" to the state's U.S. senators visiting New York City.

Modest layouts have been set aside for years. But what do regulations mean to Bobby Kennedy? Or is this, as Falstaff said, a question not to be asked? Even if Mr. Kennedy hadn't a nickel, what happens to officeholders' sense of proportions?

Promptly after his New York win Mr. Kennedy put the bee on the General Services Administration, the Washington bureau that controls federal buildings. The patsy behind the scenes is civil servant J. J. Kerwin, director of the GSA Engineering & Facilities Division. Mr. Kennedy sent minion Kerwin to New York on January 5 to deliver the news to Post Office Regional Director Sean P. Keating.

Mr. Kennedy had eyed the blueprints. The operations manager of one of the world's largest post offices must leave his office. So must his executive group. No group. No longer can they look across and supervise the busy floor. They occupy the only space that is enough for Bobby Kennedy.

Specifically, these are Rooms 401, 402, 403, 404 and 405. "Limited accommodation?" "When convenient?" There was thunder in Kennedy's whisper. Give them the boot, of course.

Mr. Kennedy's pencil kicked the operations chiefs into the blind insolation of faraway cubicles 446-8, now occupied by the safety officer and the building sign painter.

Aware of the penalties for lese majesty, Washington bureaucrat Kerwin was a sphinx. But astounded Regional Director Keating smelt a flaw. Locked in 446-8, the chiefs had no doorway to get out. Hannibal demonstrated that challenges are made to be met when he crossed the Alps on an elephant. Mr. Kennedy specified a cutting-away of the building's north corridor, an enterprise hardly rivaling the construction of the New York World's Fair, but plenty Hannibalian. This will let the executives who run the place reach elevators P1 and P2 and at least leave for lunch.

Little 446-8, nevertheless, traps them in a boiling inferno of machinery noise.

What did Hannibal do as obstacles grew? Ordered more elephants. Mr. Kennedy ordered double-action silencing doors (for taxpayers to supply) from Rooms 414 to 441, no less. The displaced peasants, along with safety officer and sign painter, disappear, ta-ta, into the fifth-floor storage room.

With the north corridor rebuilt, some 39 rooms affected and the other operational dislocations on two floors, the new free tenant achieves Rooms 401, 402, 403, 404 and 405. The public may not get its mail, but Bobby Kennedy certainly got the Post Office. Using little-known Form 73, minion Kerwin has issued the official GSA authorization for all this free, including the free decoration of Mr. Kennedy's triumphal suite and all its furnishings. The *belle-epoque* is the motif. The New York postmaster, alas, is to buy what Mr. Kennedy orders.

"This work will be accomplished by the General Services Administration at no expense to the Post Office Department," Mr. Kerwin states.

It will be nothing of the sort. It will be accomplished by the U.S. taxpayer, as usual and as always, who knows nothing whatever about it. Government engineers in charge tell me the total tab will run more than $200,000. And this is democracy in the United States?

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Narrow Coverage

Medicare Breeds False Hopes

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Among our objections to the Administration's Medicare bill are that its costs are greatly underestimated and that even so it is going to leave a great many people unsatisfied. We have warned many times that it doesn't provide anywhere near the coverage which is generally expected of it.

Yet almost every day we get critical letters like one from an anonymous woman who asks us: "Do you think that a husband with an income of $410 a month can afford an operation when the surgeon charges $400? Do you think private insurance plans which pay nothing for out-of-hospital treatment are bargains for the American people? Or for the wife who goes to the family doctor once a week and gets a prescription for expensive tranquilizers and pain-killing pills and is charged $10 for each visit? Mister, you may be able to afford this, but we can't.

"I was a Republican," her letter says, "but in the last election I supported President Johnson. . . . I have the feeling that he knows what we little people need."

Obviously she has listened to Mr. Johnson's euphoric speeches without bothering to read his Medicare bill or to find out how it will affect her and her husband.

The first thing it will do is to add $1.64 a month to the Social Security taxes already being deducted from his pay (apparently he is over 65 and still working). It won't help at all with the surgeon's bill (although many private plans will pay at least part of it). Neither will it help with visits to the family doctor, most out-of-hospital treatment, or the cost of prescriptions. In short, it probably would leave this couple worse off than they are now.

If it passes, they and thousands of others will suddenly feel that they have been cheated and will clamor for a broader program. And if the program is extended so as to satisfy everybody, it will bind the medical profession in such a web of regulations that medical progress will suffer wherever comprehensive socialized medical programs are in use.

So while there's still time, we'd like to ask this couple some questions in return. Is this Medicare bill really what they want? Is it preferable to a system under which they could choose the sort of coverage best suited to them and receive help from the government, if necessary, in paying the premiums? Do they really want to insure themselves against routine medical expenses which are normal and foreseeable, up to a point, and thus invite all of the red tape and administrative expense which this would entail? Isn't it simpler to confine insurance to the large or unexpected bills which, after all, are the ones most people fear?

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Protecting Business From Patent Theft

From the Indianapolis *Star*

Rep. Richard L. Roudebush of Indiana's Sixth District has introduced in Congress a bill which would prohibit the federal government from buying items manufactured in foreign countries on designs pirated from United States patents.

This would be one of those laws which ought not to be necessary. The federal government, of all institutions, on its own initiative ought to defend American patent owners to the extent of refusing to buy goods made on stolen designs. Unfortunately this is not the case.

The Defense Department, Roudebush charged, has made a practice of buying drugs produced abroad with formulas pirated from American patents. Such drugs are cheaper than legitimately produced similar items, of course, since the maker does not pay for use of the patent, nor does he have to recover costs of developing the formula.

We can't see any question that such practices should be stopped. The patent system is a foundation stone of American economic progress. The government should be foremost in refusing to encourage illegal operations which undermine the patent system.

If it takes a law to stop the practice, Congress should pass it without delay.

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"IF WE HAVE LEARNED anything from experience, it is that a government which manifests fear and irresoluteness—instead of courage and resoluteness—is destined to bring on the very war its people do not want."—By David Lawrence in *U. S. News & World Report*

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PRESIDENT'S cough disappears. LBJ is relieved. He didn't like being thought of as a hack politician.—By Lyn Nofziger in the San Diego *Union*

Johnson Fears Strike Epidemic

By VICTOR RIESEL

Behind President Johnson's cold fury over the $2-billion waterfront stoppage has been the fear of a new fever —strike fever.

Work stoppages are contagious, and with war bulletins pouring in the nation can ill afford an epidemic of strikes. Few realize that the season is just ripe for such a chain reaction among hundreds of thousands of workers in the nation's key industries.

On the 31st day of the longshoremen's paralysis, with 800 heavily laden ships frozen in or just outside U.S. ports from Maine to Mexico, White House insiders were briefed on looming new labor crises.

Within six weeks union contracts begin to expire in the strategic rubber and aerospace installations across the land.

These expirations run right on through the end of the year, affecting such companies as Goodyear, Firestone, Goodrich, Boeing, Douglas, North American Aviation, Martin-Marietta and Ling-Temco-Vought.

Just how high the demands on these basic space, defense and industrial corporations will run won't be known until after the auto union aerospace council meets in San Diego, February 25 and 26.

Certainly, since the longshoremen have already gotten hikes of 20 cents an hour and the auto workers won just about as much during long strikes last year, the aerospace workers will demand as much.

Their leader is the auto union's hard-bargaining Leonard Woodcock, who also heads the UAW's General Motors division. And certainly the aerospace companies, whose biggest customer is the U.S. government, will resist.

In the midst of all this will come the snarled steel industry negotiations which eventually will affect over a million workers.

Adding a strain to already sleepless Labor Secretary Wirtz, who has been briefing the President personally and regularly, is a sleeper crisis.

Sometime in May the already distraught ship owners will begin bargaining with some really tough labor leaders —those who lead the 100,000 men who actually go to sea.

Their contract expires on June 15. Let no one be surprised if there is another dockside tie-up, this time hitting the West Coast, Alaska and Hawaii as well as the Maine-to-Mexico stretch.

With $2 billion as the estimated cost of a month of longshore stoppage, there's no doubt that massive strikes in the other key fields would far more than triple such losses in the event of long walkouts in the next six months.

(Distributed 1965
by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

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NEPOTISM?—"In Washington, Democratic Sen. Stephen Young has apparently secured for his nephew, Don J. Young, a $30,000-a-year lifetime federal judgeship. The Ohio solon ruled out more than a dozen candidates before recommending his nephew to the Justice Department. The nomination should sail through the Senate without trouble."—Columnist Fulton Lewis Jr.

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New Youth Technique: Violent Non-Violence

By ALICE WIDENER

On the icy steps of the Federal Court House in New York City, early this month, there took place a pitched battle between deputy marshals and members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. The "students" had picketed the court house all day in protest over events in Selma, Ala., and had prevented normal ingress and egress. At a little after five o'clock in the evening, 15 boys and girls formed a flying wedge and tried to storm into the federal building. When prevented, they assaulted the marshals, punching, kicking and cursing them.

What happened?

The "students" were rounded up but later released without charges.

And so now we have established officially among youth a new policy of crime without punishment.

This fits in with several policies being pushed by liberal propaganda organizations, and especially by the New York Civil Liberties Union. It has started a drive to prevent employers from asking prospective employes whether they ever have been arrested.

The NYCLU is behind a bill prepared for the legislature by state Sen. Thomas J. Mackell of Queens, making it a misdemeanor for an employer to question an employe or job applicant about his or her arrest record as a condition of employment. The NYCLU hopes for eventual federal legislation on this.

It is all right to ask an employe or applicant for a job whether he or she ever has been convicted of a crime—says the NYCLU—but not to ask about mere arrest. Allegedly, this is on the grounds that some arrests do not lead to convictions. This is true. And today it is especially so of law-breaking demonstrators for this or that cause—peace, civil rights, freedom of speech, etc.

What will be the next step in our crime without punishment youth policy? This is easily predictable. Some legislator will present a bill making it a misdemeanor for an employer to ask an employe or job applicant whether he or she ever has been convicted of a crime. There will be the thesis that conviction and the serving of a jail sentence is punishment enough, and any future reference to a person's commission of a crime is anti-social, inhumanitarian and sadistically vengeful.

Meanwhile, all 1964 records in New York state and New York City show a sharp increase in crime on the streets, in schools, parks and places of amusement such as public tennis courts, skating rinks and swimming pools. The increase in the subways is more than 50 per cent.

An extremely high percentage of these crimes is committed by boys and girls under 18. When most of the youthful criminals are brought into court, they go through a brief period of suspense and then hear the reassuring pronouncement "case dismissed."

Soon, what will be the position of an employer conducting a small business? He or she will be forbidden to ask a job applicant any questions except "Name?" and "Address?" Yet each day there are news stories about robbed, beaten or murdered drugstore owners, dress and hat shop managers, candy store proprietors.

What will be the position of a self-employed person, such as a writer or accountant working at home, who is suddenly overwhelmed with uncompleted work and phones a reputable employment agency for a temporary secretary or clerk? How will such an employer be able to know that the 22 or 25-year-old employe was not arrested at 16 or 17 for attempted robbery or assault or for striking an officer of the law?

It is alleged by the New York Civil Liberties Union that a group of Hunter College students arrested last summer for unlawful picketing of the World's Fair should have the record of their arrests expunged from all files. Hunter is largely a girls' college. All the pickets were at least 16 and old enough to know exactly what they were doing in defiance of public ordinances and of police orders. They also knew their demonstration at the fair was unrelated to any condition there.

Today more and more young Americans are being prodded into law-breaking by adult agitators and are being taught the theory of violent nonviolence. It asserts, "Break the law. If police try to stop you, they are being violent. So your violent resistance to their effort at law enforcement is merely nonviolent self-protection."

This is the technique taught in the classic Communist pamphlet, "Under Arrest." Unless we Americans plan to succumb to anarchy in our great society, we had better round up the agitators misleading youth, and charge these agitators with corrupting the morals of minors.

(Copyright 1965, Bell-McClure Syndicate)

How to Raise Prices

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

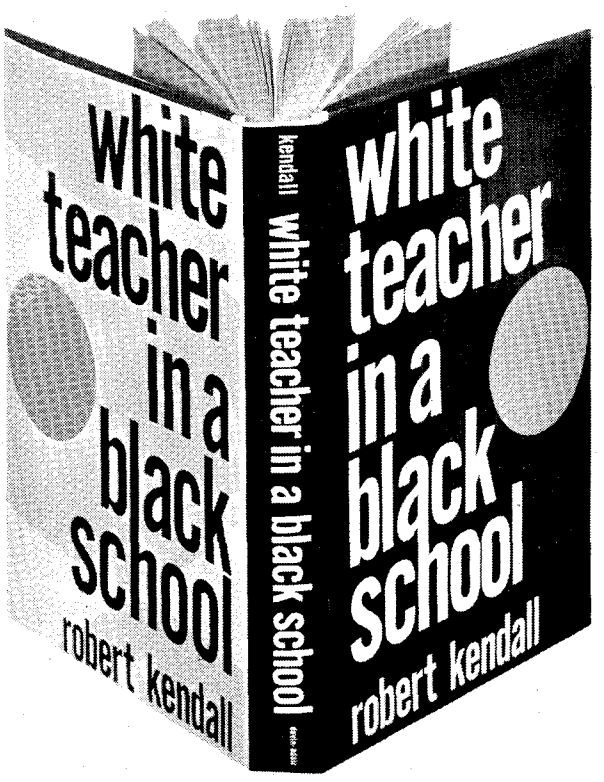
In theory, Secretary of Labor Wirtz cannot set farm wage rates. But he has done so in Florida, says the Miami *Herald*, by using the foreign-worker force as a lever.

Anyone who doesn't go along with his decree raising wages from the present 95 cents an hour to $1.15 plus fringe benefits will get no permit for foreign labor. Tropical fruit growers figure Mr. Wirtz's new package may approach $1.60 an hour.

The labor secretary's idea apparently was to force the hiring of American workers, but few can qualify. The experienced fruit pickers, cane cutters and vegetable harvesters come from nearby Caribbean islands.

So the net result of Mr. Wirtz's little contribution to the "Great Society" is almost certain to be higher-priced fruits and vegetables, paid for, of course, by the housewife.

A Raw, Blunt Book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white teacher in a black school
robert kendall

When The Conservative Book Club sent this book to its membership a few weeks ago, it said – "We make this prediction, categorically and with no qualification: *White Teacher in a Black School* will be the most talked about book of 1965. And the most widely attacked. It hits unerringly at the raw nerves of Liberalism. The Establishment will see this book as a menace – because they know it will arouse the slumbering consciences of the American people. It has the impact of a sledgehammer."

What Readers Say About WHITE TEACHER IN A BLACK SCHOOL

The content of this book should strike horror in the hearts of any parents of white children in integrated schools, and be cause for concern for all decent thinking Americans.
–Mrs. A. L. B., Pineville, N.C.

This was one of the best books I have read. It not only brings out many heretofore unknown facts about the racial situation in our schools, but also many of the "progressive" disadvantages. Being a teacher myself I can readily appreciate Mr. Kendall's book.
–G. R. O'C., Grosse Pte. Wds., Mich.

This book has been everything it was said to be. Every liberal politician, civil rights leader, and progressive educator should read it. Is this the reason *their* children, attend private schools?
–E. W. M., Brooklyn, New York

I'm glad someone had the courage to write the book *and* publish it. It is time we stopped sweeping such conditions under the rug. They certainly don't vanish by looking the other way.
–G. A. C., Hollywood, Calif.

Indubitably, the most informative book on *racial truth* that has appeared since Carleton Putnam's "Race and Reason". It should be read by every school board in America. Mr. Kendall deserves the Nobel Prize for this powerful document.
–F. H. T., Hazel Park, Mich.

The author has handled expertly a situation which is beyond human conception unless you have lived with it. He is to be commended. *–J.C., Hollywood, Calif.*

Appalling conditions. A blockbuster of a book. A terrifying book. A book I couldn't do without. More than my expectations.
–C. N. C. F., Toronto, Canada

The author has presented true, unadulterated facts resulting from the effects of "progressive education" in our schools. Many of the situations described are prevalent in Jr. Highs and even *Elementary Schools* today. I am a teacher and we need the help of an enlightened public.
–H. R. F., Oakland, Calif.

This is a fine book and I recommend it. It should be of particular value to people in public life and to educators, as well as to the general reader.
–N. F. McG., Chapman, Ala.

It should be read by all parents with school children and every teacher.
–F. P. G., Pauls Valley, Okla.

Southern white teachers would never subject themselves to such deplorable conditions as this man did. From that standpoint, it is revolting.
–Mrs. M. B., Jackson, Miss.

The book aptly illustrates some of the major fallacies within the philosophy and techniques of avant garde education.
–W. O., Nellis AFB, Nevada

A phenomenally engrossing, absorbing work – you're to be congratulated for your "guts" in publishing it!!
–C. V. C., Fredericksburg, Va.

It brings the problem clearly into the forefront for complete analytical process. A book that every American citizen should read. Here was an author who told the truth. *–S. R. K., Portland, Ore.*

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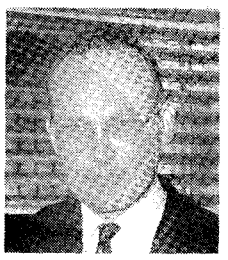
CAPITOL CAMERA

• LBJ's top national security adviser, McGeorge Bundy, is reported to have had a direct hand in preparing Sen. Warren Magnuson's (D.-Wash.) joint House-Senate resolution calling for a high-level Council for Expanded Trade. The council, to be made of "leading private citizens from business, labor and academic communities," will recommend new policies to increase commerce between the United States and the Communist bloc.


BUNDY

• *The Americans for Democratic Action has condemned U.S. retaliation in Viet Nam: "There is only one sensible course for America. The bombings of North Viet Nam should cease immediately and then this nation should announce its willingness to seek a peaceful settlement that will result in a neutral Viet Nam, guaranteed by the major powers, with a United Nations presence."*

• Rep. George E. Brown Jr. (D.-Calif.) addressed Members of the so-called Mothers' Lobby on the subject of South Viet Nam recently. The lobby, which descended on the White House a short time ago, was composed of some 300 women, some from the Red-infiltrated Women's Strike for Peace organization. Filling the hearing room of the House Space Committee, the lobbyists applauded roundly when Brown said that military aid to South Viet Nam should be terminated forthwith. Brown said the people of South Viet Nam have the right to choose a Communist government if they want to.

BROWN

• *Former GOP standardbearer Barry Goldwater will speak in Columbus, Ga., on March 6 in what Republican leaders describe as a major move to strengthen the party's foothold in the South. Mrs. A. Edward Smith, of Columbus, GOP national committeewoman, says all Southern Republican congressmen are being invited to join Goldwater on the speaker's platform.*

• A dispatch from Bonn reveals that the United States will drop its insistence that Krupp dispose of its steel-producing capacity in return for Krupp's economic development assistance to Poland and other Soviet-bloc countries. The North American Newspaper Alliance's Omer Anderson reports the deal was sealed in Washington conferences with Vice President Hubert Humphrey, Under Secretary of State George Ball and other Administration officials.

HUMPHREY

• *The mayoralty bug appears to be biting the Roosevelt family. Elliott Roosevelt, FDR's second son, is considering running for mayor of Miami Beach, Fla. His brother James is already in the Los Angeles mayoralty race* (*See* Human Events, *Feb. 20, 1965*).

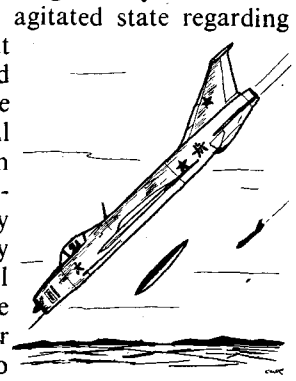
• Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, has warned that repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act would adversely affect millions of U.S. farmers. Repeal would further tighten the price-cost squeeze by increasing the already favored bargaining power of labor to force inflationary wage increases. The increases would be reflected in rising costs of production items and would particularly affect farmers, Shuman said.

SHUMAN

This Week in Washington

Ponomaryev's Doctrine

Informed sources in Washington say that President Johnson is in a highly agitated state regarding the Viet Nam situation, that basically he still has profound hopes of "getting off the hook." Sen. Richard Russell (D.-Ga.), now recovering from a lung infection, is still expected to help pave the way for a negotiated settlement by conducting hearings which will inform the public that "we can't win in Viet Nam." Other senators are also trying to ease the President's decision in this area. Sen. Frank Church (D.-Idaho), a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said last week that "the question really isn't whether we should negotiate, but when." In a separate speech, Sen. George McGovern chimed in with Church, stating that his mail is running 15-to-1 in favor of a "negotiated cease-fire and settlement." The Americans for Democratic Action has also come out for negotiations.



But diplomatic observers here say that, so far, it is not the United States, but the Soviets, that stand squarely in the way of a diplomatic deal. In recent weeks, the arrogant Kosygin-Brezhnev team has so boldly challenged the American position in Asia that LBJ finds it difficult to withdraw gracefully.

So confident are the Soviets of victory, it is said, they are energetically striving to compel the United States to capitulate. In recent weeks, Moscow has enacted a crash program for the prime purpose of inflicting an overwhelming defeat on America in Asia:

Premier Alexei Kosygin boldly went to Hanoi to deliver the North Vietnamese much-needed military supplies; the Soviets strongly supported the North Vietnamese when they attacked American compounds and killed American soldiers; the Soviets have encouraged riots against American embassies around the world, particularly in Moscow.

Almost daily, Premer Kosygin issues bullying statements demanding that the "imperialist" Americans get out of Viet Nam.

These aggressive moves have not yet forced us to depart. But, note the Kremlinologists, they have clearly shattered the myth of Soviet mellowing. Indeed, experts on communism, pouring through the works of top Soviet theorist Boris N. Ponomaryev, wonder why the mellowing myth ever took hold.

In a June 1964 report to the Academy of Social Sciences Ponomaryev actually criticized the Chinese for trying to delay the Communist takeover of the world.

"According to the Chinese press," said Ponomaryev, "200 or 300 or more years will be needed to build socialism. Thus, like some religious doctrines, the Chinese press promises a good life in the unknown future . . . . Obviously, this defeatism can do anything but inspire the fighters for socialism . . .

"The theory, if it may be called such, demobilizes generations of revolutionaries and spreads disbelief in the victory of socialism . . . Millions all over the world have been rallying to the banners of socialism, and the Chinese theorists persuade them that there is no hope for attaining the final goals of their struggle . . .

"Neither Marx nor Lenin thought it possible to fix the exact date for the accomplishment of the world Socialist revolution. However, they never shifted the solution of this problem onto the shoulders of generations to come in several centuries."

In short, the Soviets would like to accomplish the world revolution more rapidly than the Chinese Reds. Hence, their bold and strident actions in Viet Nam.

• *Government morale under President Johnson is at its lowest ebb in years, President Nathan Wolkomir of the National Federation of Federal Employes declared earlier this month. Reported the Washington* Sunday Star *February 7: "President Johnson's Great Society is turning out not to be the Great Society as far as government employes are concerned. It's very ironic that the very people who will be asked to carry out the programs of President Johnson's Great Society are being treated as though they were outcasts."*

LBJ Slants The News

President Johnson's falling out with the press corps continues at an accelerated rate. The New York *Times'* Tom Wicker and the New York *Herald-Tribune*'s Douglas Kiker have already taken public pot-shots at LBJ's news management techniques. (As Kiker put it: "The President grandly mixes truth, half-truth and non-truth and dares you to attempt to isolate them.") Last week, it was columnist Joseph Alsop's turn to criticize.

Alsop went into some history of LBJ, pointing out that he was always interested in managing the news. "In the old days, when he was Senate leader," recalled Alsop, "it was often downright painful to go see him . . . It was painful because he would have your story ready written for you, so to say. It was always a story presenting the Johnsonian accomplishments in the most favorable light."

The problem, said Alsop, "is immeasurably worse, now that he is President." There has been an "almost hysterical intensification of the secretiveness which the Johnson Administration has for months been carrying to extremes quite unimagined in any previous American government."

The motive of the Johnson secretiveness remains his supreme ego, hinted Alsop, and "the President's irrepressible longing to have every story in every newspaper in the United States written exactly as he would write it." Thus, he tries to conceal almost everything unless he can set the proper setting for its release.

At times, said Alsop, the "President . . . may wish to conceal for the present certain future implications that would normally quite properly be public property. Thus there was a celebrated explosion in the White House because various departmental officials dared to tell the simple truth about the probable future costs of certain of the President's Great Society programs."

This news management, barked Alsop, is "improper and against the public interests. It challenges the very theory, in truth, on which American government is based . . . For the President is merely doing the public's business. He cannot properly say to the public, 'It's none of your business how I do your business.' "

Pacifica Finds a Girl

The controversial tax-exempt Pacifica Foundation is back in the news again. The New York outlet of Pacifica radio has just hired as its news director Joanne Grant, an identified Communist.

Miss Grant, once a staff member of the pro-Peking weekly, the *National Guardian*, was singled out as a member of the Communist party by Albert Gaillard on Feb. 3, 1960, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. HCUA called her up to testify just two days later, but Miss Grant refused to answer questions.

In a telephone call to Miss Grant last week, *Human Events* asked her if she had ever denied membership in the party to HCUA. The reply: "Are you kidding? I never talk to that committee." She informed us that she was now "concentrating her energies" on her new job, but might be doing some more writing for the *Guardian*.

Documents in HCUA's possession demonstrate that Miss Grant has served as executive secretary of the U. S. Festival Committee in New York City for the Communist World Festival of 1959 and that she was also a member of "Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee."

Tocsin, the reliable anti-Communist weekly, points out that the naming of Miss Grant to the post

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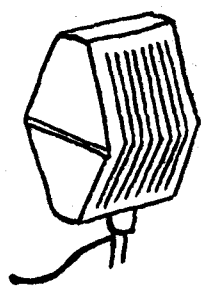
came only two years after Pacifica received renewal of its broadcasting licenses from the FCC.

The New York *Times* (January 31) reports that Chris Koch, the program director of Pacifica-owned WBAI-FM, is engaged in civil rights agitation in Tougaloo, Miss. Koch also heads the Radio Tougaloo Association, now in the business of establishing a "Freedom Radio" station in the area.

The Fairness Doctrine

Democratic National Committee Chairman John M. Bailey, in a complaint to the Federal Communications Commission, has charged ten radio stations with "flagrant disregard" of the terms of the "fairness doctrine" which the federal agency has established as a guide to editorial policy. Bailey has requested the FCC to investigate thoroughly each of the stations and to take action against those licensees which it discovers have violated the letter or intent of the regulations. Punishment could come in the form of fines or a revoked license.



What bothers Bailey is that these stations are running paid broadcasts ("Life Line," "The Dan Smoot Report," etc.) which directly oppose the Democratic philosophy. During the campaign, the Democratic National Committee demanded that stations carrying such sponsored "right-wing" programs provide the Democrats with free time to respond. Some stations did, but these 10 refused.

As pointed out in *Human Events* (Oct. 31, 1964), the amplified "fairness doctrine," issued by the FCC in July 1963, made an implied threat that it would require stations carrying conservative views, even though paid for by the sponsor, to give free time to liberals. While the FCC has engaged in harassing some conservative stations, it has yet to hand down a formal ruling requiring a station to give free time to an opposing point of view. The FCC's handling of this complaint, therefore, will be watched closely. An adverse ruling against the stations would probably cause many of them to drop controversial, conservative broadcasts.

• In regard to the government's "crack-down" on the right wing, the Internal Revenue Service, which is notifying right-wing organizations that their tax-exempt status is being removed, now lists World Fellowship, Inc. of Conway, N. H., as tax-exempt. This group is headed by pacifist Dr. Willard Uphaus, who went to jail a few years ago because he refused to hand over names of suspected Communists and fellow travelers to Louis Wyman, the then attorney general of New Hampshire.

Soviets Closing Military Gap?

Administration officials are expected to get a rough going-over by Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) when they appear at impending Senate hearings on America's defense posture. The South Carolinian is expected to quiz policy makers closely on some highly disturbing remarks by Gen. Curtis LeMay.

In a television interview last week, the just-retired Air Force chief of staff said the United States is still militarily stronger than the Russians, but that the Soviets are "narrowing the gap."

LeMay also said the United States cannot be at all sure that the Soviets have lived up to the nuclear test-ban treaty. (Only a few weeks ago, it is noted, the Soviets set off a nuclear test which they claimed unintentionally violated the treaty.)

The Joint Chiefs of Staff favored the test ban when LeMay was a member, but LeMay now admits that "we all agreed that there were certainly no military advantages to having the treaty." And LeMay added that he has "seen none of the vast political gains that we were supposed to make."

Anti-Poverty Program

A federal anti-poverty grant for Willow Village in southeastern Michigan has touched off a storm of indignation among the town's citizens.

The $188,252 grant was made to the University of Michigan last month to administer a program of self-help for the community's 4,500 residents.

But officials and homeowners of Ypsilanti Township, in which two-thirds of Willow Village lies, voiced vigorous opposition to the grant. They heatedly contended there is no poverty in the area and that the stigma could hurt business.

Roy Smith, Ypsilanti Township supervisor, charges that the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations—a joint enterprise of Michigan and Wayne State University—obtained the funds by distorting the facts of the area's economy in their petition to the federal Office of Economic Opportunity, created by LBJ's anti-poverty bill.

Smith says there's not a home in the village over 10 years old. Their average value, he maintains, is $12,000. Furthermore, he adds: "We've got a large modern shopping center, filling station, barber shops . . . As far as I know unemployment is practically nothing."

The Willow Run Association for Neighborhood Development, a one-year-old group that will develop and run the project, has not yet replied directly to Smith's accusations.

No Wonder We Are Losing

An aide to Rep. Ross Adair (R.-Ind.) made an enlightening trip to the State Department's East Auditorium last week. Briefing both congressmen and the public was David McKillop, director of the office of Western European Affairs. The conference was droning on when McKillop startled his audience with the assertion that "We in the State Department no longer refer to the Eastern European nations as satellites."

Stunned at the boldness of the remark, Adair's aide asked McKillop in amazement: "Well how about Hungary? If the same conditions arose as in 1956, don't you think the 50,000 Soviet troops there would react in the same way by crushing any rebellion?"

"Yes, they probably would," McKillop answered. "I suppose they really are still satellites, but we like to get them thinking of themselves as independent nations."

Urban Renewal

Urban renewal bureaucrats were dealt stunning setbacks in the liberal stronghold of Connecticut last week.

On Tuesday, residents of Fairfield voted by more than 2-to-1 (8,088 to 3,931) to reject "free federal money" for a $5.1-million renewal project.

This referendum overturned a 23-to-19 vote of the town council on February 1. The outcome was described by Peter Ball, chairman of the Republican Town Committee, as "remarkable, showing the way to a self-help program, turning off the siren song of urban renewal."

The turnout of 12,000 voters, out of a registration of 28,000 was described by Ball as amazing—"in view of the fact that only a week's notice was given."

And in Stamford, an $88-million urban renewal project was brought to a halt—at least until April 6—by a temporary restraining order issued by Judge William F. Barber in State Supreme Court.

The order enjoins the city, its Urban Redevelopment Commission and the city commissioner of finance from acquiring additional land in the renewal area. The order was issued in response to a suit against continuance of the project filed seven months ago by Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Davis Gilbert, local residents.

Federal Medicine

President Johnson has placed a record $6.2-billion price tag on federal health programs for the fiscal year beginning July 1—an increase of $700 million over the current fiscal year.

The figure does not include any part of the multi-billion-dollar Medicare program that LBJ also hopes to get from Congress.

CAPITOL CAMERA

• Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) was among those World War I veterans who received his VA life insurance dividend check recently. A notice with the check read, "As President Johnson announced, the 1965 government life insurance dividends are being paid well ahead of the normal date in most cases." Noted the peppery Iowan: "We resent the insinuation that the dividend payment was made out of the bigness of Lyndon Johnson's heart. This is a dividend on money invested by the veterans themselves, many of whom, unlike Lyndon, saw fit to serve more than seven months in the armed forces."

GROSS

• *Pollster George Gallup reports the U.S. public opposes three out of four key proposals for which organized labor is seeking congressional approval. The unpopular programs include: a 35-hour week, double-pay for overtime work and an extension of the period for which unemployment benefits can be received. Only one proposal—an increase in the minimum wage—won bare acceptance.*

• Rep. Frank Bow (R.-O.) has characterized President Johnson's pretensions at frugality "the greatest political trick of modern times." The congressman, ranking Republican on the House Appropriations Committee, pointed out that LBJ's "rock-bottom" budget of $99.7 billion will cost the average American family $2,517 this year. Noting that he and his Republican colleagues need grass-roots support in their fight for economy, Bow told Republicans to "ask your neighbors if they think a billion dollars given to Tito of Yugoslavia is worth $25.17 to their family. Find out whether they think they got their $20 worth from our gifts to India last year."

BOW

• *California Young Republicans have unanimously elected a staunch conservative, Mrs. Floy Archer of Whittier, as their state chairman. Mrs. Archer was both state and Los Angeles County co-ordinator of Goldwater precinct workers in the November election and, earlier, a pro-Goldwater delegate to the party's national convention.*

• California Democrats concede they may have real difficulty holding the governorship next year. Says Jesse Unruh, speaker of the State Assembly: "There's a tendency to feel that government is some big monster that is simply taking tax money from them and saying you can't do this and you can't do that." State Senate President Pro Tem Hugh Burns agrees: "I think there is a trend toward conservatism in this state that will make things tougher for Democrats than in the past."

UNRUH

• *The pro-Soviet Algerian government has held for almost two months an American psychologist who was arrested and has since been brutally tortured. Efforts by the U.S. embassy to effect the release of Ronald B. Ramsey, of Downey, Calif., have been unsuccessful. Ramsey is now held in the prison ward at Mustapha Hospital in Algiers, where he is suffering from a fractured vertebra and damaged kidneys. No charges have been made against him.*

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The Spreading 'Appalachia' Disease

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

Like hogs grunting to the trough, congressmen are clamoring to get their districts declared "Appalachias."

The President's original Appalachia uplift plan has called for an initial expenditure of a billion dollars in 11 states along the Appalachian ridge.

Now Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.) has come up with an amendment to the Appalachia bill to include 36 Missouri counties and 21 Arkansas counties. Sen. Fred Harris (D.-Okla.) wants to add 19 Oklahoma counties. Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) says, "We in New England must be ready to advise the President of our needs when this new legislation (Appalachia) becomes effective." Sen. Joseph Montoya (D.-N.M.), is insisting that the entire Four Corners country of New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona and Utah be Appalachianized.

Who wants to bet that the Appalachians won't soon reach clear to Alaska?

In the old days it was the custom of American communities to boast of their wealth, or at least their bright prospects. The homestead dodgers glowed with promise. The railroad agents regaled immigrants with Utopian visions. The boom towns sent forth their bands and booster trains. And the chamber of commerce tradition, the think-big, can-do, talk-it-up brand of self-hypnotism, started in America when Capt. John Smith described the miasmic swamps of Jamestown Island as a "faire and prettye land."

But while Charles Dickens saw only America's mud, bad table manners and spittoons, and while Sinclair Lewis and H.L. Mencken hooted at our Babbittisms, this American habit of putting up a bold front and flashing a toothpaste smile paid fantastic dividends. The tent towns and the shacks gave way to paint and trim. Your community was supposed to be a proud thing.

This pride made a great nation. The immigrant may have come from a Moldavian village that had drawn water from the same well for a thousand years, but five years after his arrival at a signpost along a Kansas railroad he was burning his fingers on skyrockets to celebrate the opening of the town waterworks.

But now we weep for Appalachia. A legend grows. Millions of Americans are allegedly held prisoners in accursed regions. They are, to use the euphemisms of the hour, "disadvantaged," "deprived," "underprivileged." They must be rescued by a vast and special outpouring of federal funds.

So appealing is this myth of the trapped and downtrodden Appalachian that just before Christmas, when the Columbia Broadcasting System put out a heart-rending documentary on eastern Kentucky, 150 tons of goods and $57,000 in cash were rushed to the region by distressed Americans.

Now, maybe we ought to knock off the sentimental sobbing and political hand-wringing about America's Appalachias and ask ourselves how come.

Some regions are in trouble because coal loaders have replaced bituminous miners. Some are in a jam because oil and gas are better and cheaper fuels than anthracite. The miner who was thrown out of work after 40 needs special consideration. He must either be retrained into a marketable skill or supported in some degree for the rest of his life.

But there is usually a good economic reason why an industry has not hurried into Appalachia. And there must be a limit to the sympathy that productive Americans should lavish on the able-bodied man who sits on his cabin porch year after year waiting for someone to bring him a job.

County Judge Willie Kirk of Martin County, Ky., said last month, "You'll find about 80 per cent of our people just looking for another handout." And he added that some local families have been unemployed for three generations.

If the roads through Appalachia are poor, they are at least passable. A young man can get out. And in three generations someone else has built Houston, Phoenix, Los Angeles, Anchorage and Honolulu.

Appalachia is no stranger to the federal dollar. The entire TVA is in Appalachia. The gigantic $1.2 billion Arkansas River project will touch many of the counties that McClellan and Harris would add to Appalachia. The Four Corners country is the home of some of our most expensive and most dubious reclamation schemes.

But worst of all is the Appalachia psychology. Is our famous local pride going to be replaced by poor-mouthed contests? Are Americans going to put on their dirtiest shirts and raggedest fishing pants and go crying their deprivations and disadvantages to Washington?

That isn't the way this country was built and it will not be the formula for its preservation.

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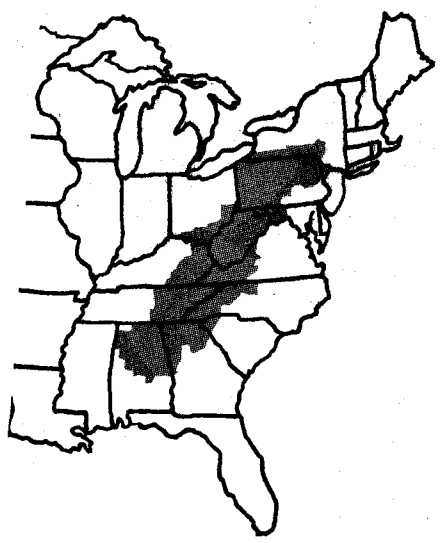
Appalachia Region



The shading at right shows the area covered by the Appalachian bill. The original 11-state region included all of West Virginia and portions of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. Because of an amendment sponsored by Sen. Robert Kennedy the Appalachia Commission is to consider adding the 13 counties in southern New York shown on the map. Other senators are now pressing for legislation to add their regions.

Lack of Combat Forces as Guards Blamed for U.S. Losses at Pleiku

From the Allen-Scott Report

Deeply embedded in the latest Viet Nam crisis is a long-standing inner Administration controversy over assigning U.S. combat forces to guard U.S. military training personnel, planes, airfields, barracks and other vulnerable installations.

Had this been done, as strongly advised by the Joint Chiefs of Staff months ago, there is every reason to believe the surprise Viet Cong attack on the Pleiku airbase, with the heavy toll in dead and wounded, would not have occurred.

Certainly there can be no question of a direct relation between this tragic "bloody nose" and the lack of adequate security measures.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk was one advisor opposed to sending special forces to protect Americans in Viet Nam.

More than six months ago Gen. William Westmoreland, U.S. commander in South Viet Nam, after a first-hand inspection, urgently recommended that a large contingent of Marines or Army special forces be sent there expressly to protect U. S. personnel and important installations.

Ambassador Maxwell Taylor, fully concurring in this proposal, communicated it immediately to Secretary of State Rusk and Defense Secretary McNamara.

They turned it down—over the opposition of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

President Johnson sided with Rusk and McNamara, and nothing was done about menacing weakness.

Several months later, in a surprise hit-and-run attack on the Bien Hoa airfield, a large force of Viet Cong inflicted considerable personnel and bomber losses.

Success of this costly Communist blow was due wholly to inadequate guard elements.

This major airbase was protected only by a small South Vietnamese unit and some Air Force troops armed with carbines and pearl-handled pistols. They had no infantry training, heavy weapons or armored vehicles to meet artillery and mortar fire.

During this assault, the Reds fired more than 110 mortar shells.

Gen. Westmoreland and Ambassador Taylor renewed their request for special security troops—but again to no avail.

Secretaries Rusk and McNamara vetoed sending Marines or Army combat troops to South Viet Nam on the ground that might "escalate" the anti-Communist struggle into a "Korean-type war."

The two powerful Cabinet members contended the presence of U.S. fighting troops would open the door for direct military intervention by Red China.

They held the sound policy for the United States to pursue in South Viet Nam is to deal with the internal conflict as a "political" rather than a "military" problem, and to seek a "political settlement" instead of enlarging the warring.

(Distributed 1965
by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

USIA Films: For Export Only

From the Dallas *Morning News*

No matter how well intended, the recent proposal by Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.)—to waive the rules so that domestic audiences can view a United States Information Agency film on the life of the late President Kennedy—is a questionable precedent.

USIA prepared the film—*John F. Kennedy: Years of Lightning, Day of Drums*—for distribution abroad. That, of course, is entirely proper. The agency's job is to wage a continuing information and propaganda campaign designed to improve America's image in the eyes of the rest of the world.

When Congress established the agency, however, it wisely specified that U S I A -prepared films and documents could not be used to bombard domestic audiences with material glorifying accomplishments of their own government. Only once has that rule been broken, when U S I A films of Mrs. John F. Kennedy's visit to India and Pakistan were released for U. S. consumption.

Sen. McGovern says it would be "unfortunate if the American people were denied the opportunity of viewing this magnificent film" on the life of the late president.

Maybe so. But more unfortunate for a future America would be a private system of communications media constantly occupied with governmental material prepared by the government. The late President himself would not want constant exceptions to a rule against federal indoctrination from the federal level.

□ □ □

I WELL REMEMBER, when I was a journalist in Moscow, a man in the Soviet foreign office opening a conversation by observing that the USSR owed an immense debt of gratitude to the Webbs (founders of the British Fabian Society) and other Western liberal intellectuals. I rather wearily asked why, expecting the usual claptrap. He surprised me by replying: "Because they've convinced us that whatever we may be impelled to do in the way of terrorism and other non-liberal practices, we never need fear their disapprobation." —Malcolm Muggeridge, in the New York *Review of Books*

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Baldwin's 'Another Country': Is It Art?

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Some recent columns have aroused the letter writers. If I question the soundness of the Administration's fiscal and foreign policies, I am denounced as "anti-democratic" for not abiding by the will of the majority who elected LBJ. If I hint that the halo surrounding every move of Dr. Martin Luther King is not pure gold, but contains some elements of demagogic alloy, I am "anti-Negro." And when I point out some of the utter bigotry enunciated in the Anti-Defamation League's *Danger on the Right*, I am "anti-Semitic." Had the writers seen a doctor's report which said I was allergic to some of the new drugs, I might have been called "anti-biotic," too.

And this piece will probably prove me "anti-intellectual" as well, since it conflicts with the judgments of the lit-

Author James Baldwin

erary critics who have hailed *Another Country*, by James Baldwin. I had heard the author was one of our authentic geniuses, but had never read him. Then I saw him on several TV panels, breathing fire and threatening genocide for the whole white race unless it met his terms, and decided to order *Another Country*.

When it came, I opened it casually, read one page, cried, "Oh, no!" and took a shower, determined henceforth to confine my fiction reading to *Five Little Peppers and How They Grew*. But the other day I caught the tail end of a news broadcast which indicated the Baldwin volume had been okayed by a Chicago school board, in spite of some criticism, as required reading in a junior college.

If that stunned me, it also stirred me into giving the book another chance. This time I started at page one and forced myself to go through it at one sitting, interrupted only by three baths.

I was right, you see, the first time. Though philosophically opposed to censorship, I would insist there must be some other book the school board could find that might be more valuable in molding the young mind. Frankly, I'm damned if I can see how this story of the sex life of a bunch of abysmal slobs and sluts, told in a dialogue that never uses a five-letter word when a foul four-letter synonym can do the trick, can be classified as literature.

Not that I'm opposed to any mention of sex. As a matter of fact, I have some very pleasant recollections on the subject and am grateful to primitive man for discovering it. Indeed, in my book it is ranked above the invention of the wheel.

But there is, I maintain, a demarcation line, albeit concededly shadowy and well-nigh impossible to trace with exactitude, that marks the difference between honest sex and sheer smut. And the Baldwin work clearly invades the 38th parallel, so to speak.

In this highly praised volume, any time two people—whether of the same or opposite sexes—get together, desire lifts its ugly head. Boy gets girl, to be sure, but boy also gets boy. There's action on every page.

The only good I can see in it is that no kid who reads this novel is ever again going to be satisifed with the pornographic "comic books" that have aroused PTA groups all over the nation. Still, if *Another Country* had pictures, it might be an even better seller. And who knows? They may appear in the next edition.

I'm not sure, feeling as I do, I'm qualified to discuss the art of creative writing. But if I remember my Aristotle correctly, one of his precepts was that the audience, in order to achieve catharsis, must be able to identify itself emotionally with one of the characters.

Not necessarily the completely virtuous one. In *Crime and Punishment*, for example, we suffer all the tortures, the fears and the doubts of the assassin. And the most memorable Shakespearean performance I ever saw was a portrayal of the misshapen body and soul of *Richard III* by John Barrymore, in which he played the murderous king's faults to the hilt and yet somehow kept him human and by the Barrymore magic made you completely identify yourself with him.

But I doubt even the famous "profile" could do anything for the Baldwin cast. Would the members of the Chicago school board mind stepping forward and tell us—even if we don't pay taxes in their city—just which one of the unsavory characters in *Another Country* they identify themselves with—and why?

It might make interesting reading, even though they mightn't retain their jobs the next time around.

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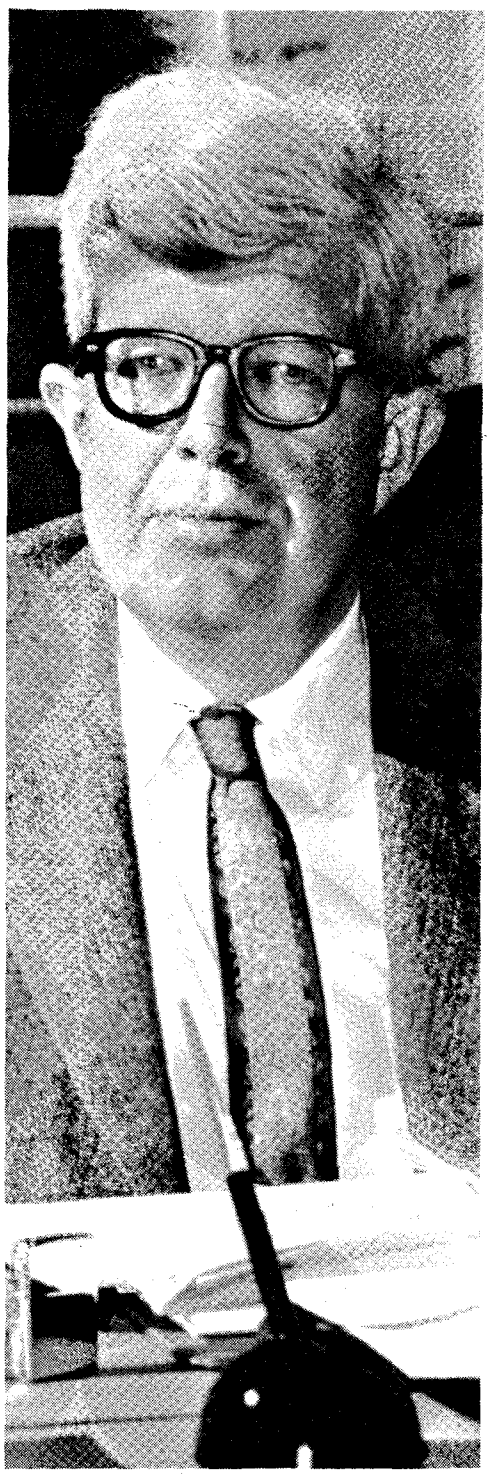

Has President Johnson 'bugged' the office of his press secretary, George Reedy (above)?

Feel LBJ Is 'Using' Them

Many Reporters Growing Cool Toward Johnson

By IRENE CORBALLY KUHN

Suspicion on the part of reporters assigned to the White House that President Johnson had equipped the office of his press secretary, George Reedy, with a listening device, was not allayed by Reedy's denial. The evidence was that the President somehow had instant knowledge of detailed exchanges between Reedy and the press corps at the regular morning and afternoon briefings.

Reporters do not like tricks and the suspicion of a "bug" in Reedy's office penetrated the tender skin of presidential press relations.

Now, the free press is one of the glories of our system of government. Indeed, it has always been one of the most effective and sensitive tools available to the people to make sure that those governing them do not wander too far from the public will. The importance of a free press, responsible to no one but the people as a whole, was recognized by the framers of the Constitution who made it an "unalienable" right of Americans. And this in a day when most newspapers were weeklies whose main function was to disperse shipping news.

Today, with the wide proliferation of newspapers, magazines, journals of all kinds, and the standard dependence upon radio and television as news sources as well, the importance of a free press looms larger than ever. And the politician who fails to understand this, who tries either to ignore the press or to manage it, is risking a sudden termination of his career in public life.

President Johnson's recent behavior with the press is a case in point. Now firmly established in the office of the President by a huge majority, he apparently feels he can use the press for his own ends and the press is determined to show him he can't.

There is, for example, his apparent reluctance to hold press conferences. These are far too infrequent to satisfy the need of the people to know what is going on and how it will affect their lives in a period when change is constant and the world is in upheaval in all its far-flung areas with their widely different aims, objectives, desires and ambitions.

When the President does hold a press conference, he calls it on the spur of the moment, in inconvenient or inappropriate places. This leaves little or no time for the experts in foreign affairs, for example, to get there. And it is difficult to concentrate on proper questioning when the President is walking around the White House. This trick may be good to advertise his health and stamina, but it's an unsatisfactory way of getting at the news.

Mr. Johnson has a tendency to be unresponsive, as well; and to rely on cornpone philosophy to help him out of tight spots.

Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, while perhaps disliking regular confrontations with the press, still felt it was part of the obligation of the office and did their best. President Truman's direct and often salty responses never left any doubt about his own feelings on most matters; and he enlivened many an otherwise dull news day with cracks and quips aimed at persons, things and situations which displeased him.

President Eisenhower was so eager to give the people all the news he thought they should have, he often explained too much and got entangled in long, strangling sentences. But even so, he made sure the news got through.

President Kennedy gloried in the press conference. For him, this was an exhilarating battle of wits which he enjoyed, sharpening his mind with each exchange. Reporters had to be alert to make sure they were not worsted in the exchange, for JFK, who had a nose for news and some experience in journalism, knew how to make the press conference a tool of his own on occasion.

The press today is aware it must combat President Johnson's down-grading of the press conference. He must be persuaded that he cannot by-pass this regular function of his office. A shrewd observer, the President cannot fail to have noted the build-up of criticism and pressure for failing to meet the press regularly, as well as reporters' skirmishes with Press Secretary George Reedy.

The press secretary is always acting under orders and he must be the patsy for the President when the chief executive decides to be coy or to deny news which has leaked. This is not conducive to a smooth, useful relationship between the White House and the press corps.

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CAMBODIA BACKS away from breaking diplomatic ties with the United States. Someone mentioned that there was still some loose foreign aid money lying around.—From the San Diego *Union*

Labor's Political Strategists Prepare For Election Fights in 1,000 Cities

By VICTOR RIESEL

During many private rocking chair conferences, Lyndon Johnson tells his favorite visitors that politics is the art of the possible.

But now some of his labor allies are revising the slogan. They're making politics the art of the impossible—or what professionals of both parties have believed impossible.

Just the other day hundreds of regional labor leaders received a letter from their central political headquarters in Washington, D.C., warning them not to forget this November's election day, though 1965 is an "off year." This communication advised them to get into at least 1,000 municipal elections in cities of 10,000 people or more (in 43 states).

And they will.

They certainly will follow the suggestions made in the message which was sent them by the hard-campaigning, hustings-hopping Al Barkan, national director of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE). These cities are the basic pegs for their national political network.

The hundreds of state and city labor officials will unleash this "impossible" campaign because it will be a rehearsal for 1966—and thus the jumping-off point for the 1968 presidential election.

The Barkan note had no flourishes. It said simply:

"Memorandum to State, County and City COPES:

"Attached is a list of municipal elections, in cities of 10,000 or more, scheduled in 1965.

"We know you will want to take particular note of those taking place within your area of operation.

"City elections this year are important in themselves, because the officials elected are closely involved with local problems of immediate and direct concern to the voters. They are equally important because of their potential effect on state and national elections in 1966.

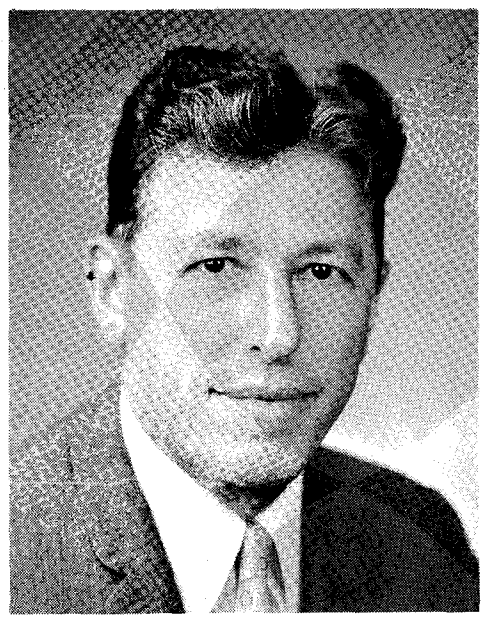
"The 1965 elections afford a splendid opportunity to maintain and improve existing COPE machinery, to train new recruits, and to provide additional activities for those who did such a good job in the COPE program in 1964.

"We hope that in 1965 you will regard the elections in your area, not only in the light of their own very real significance, but as an opportunity to broaden all aspects of our political education program."

A thousand elections take a lot of red pins on the maps of states ranging from Florida to Alaska—not to mention money and manpower.

But the labor movement has coordinated its skilled campaigners. They do their homework. They know their districts. Though they do not call themselves a political party, they have the smoothest political machine in the land. They operate the year round.

On this network will be based the liberal-labor campaign next year for "rebuilding the Democratic party [in the South] with a new orientation."



Al Barkan, national director of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education.

As early as last November, a confidential COPE report to its board of directors urged the search for candidates who are "not only able and articulate, but known and recognized in the community from which they run.

"For this reason, efforts should be begun now to secure good candidates for close races in 1966 . . ."

Next year will see contests between the liberal-labor bloc and the Republicans for 33 senatorial seats and 35 governorships.

The confidential memo indicated that labor's political strategists were worried over the success of a handful of their closest allies: Lee Metcalf, Mont.; Fred Harris, Okla.; Paul Douglas, Ill.; Walter Mondale, who replaced Vice President Hubert Humphrey in the Senate seat from Minnesota; Thomas McIntyre, of N.H.; Maurine Neuberger, Ore.; and Tennessee's Ross Bass, who succeeded the late Estes Kefauver in a special election.

Labor is worried over the seat of Michigan's Pat McNamara, formerly a construction union official. He may not run.

While COPE is hitting hard in a thousand communities long in advance of the headline-making elections, the Republicans are just beginning to reorganize themselves.

As for the Democrats, they may be labor's allies, but they will have good reason to become aware of the bargaining talents of the union chiefs on the political as well as the national fronts.

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GOP Chairman Speaks Out:

'Me-Tooism' Is Cynical Evasion of Constructive Debate

'When offered either the genuine article or an obvious substitute, why would the American people buy second-hand goods?' There is another course: 'the way of principle.'

By DEAN BURCH, *Chairman*, Republican National Committee

Below are excerpts from the text of Dean Burch's February 15 address before the Associated Students of the University of Utah, Salt Lake City. This fighting conservative speech made front-page headlines across the country and served notice to the "modern" Republicans that they are not going to be able to take over the GOP by default.

DEAN BURCH

We are, to put it mildly, a somewhat beleaguered party—and the crisis of Republicanism is no recent thing. Since 1930 we have controlled the Congress for only two sessions—four years out of the last 35. We managed in 1956 to pull off a trick that no other major party has duplicated during recent political history: we elected a President, elected him by 58 per cent of the vote too, and lost the House of Representatives at the same time. Most disconcerning of all, when the electorate was asked in 1940 to identify itself by major party affiliation, the split was nearly even: 42 to 38 Democratic. By 1964, just *before* our national convention, we were down to about a quarter of the national sample: the split was 53 to 25 Democratic.

This downward Republican "sales curve" has been continuous and uninterrupted for 25 years.

The Republican party *does* have a future. And our traditional party system *will* be preserved—and, make no mistake about it, the two are directly and inherently related.

Generalizations about the American political system are notoriously sometime things, with more exceptions than rules, and yet I'll risk this one: our entire governmental system hinges on the competition between two major parties, each one organized in every part of the country, and each one potentially capable of gaining control of the governmental machinery at any political level, from the county courthouse right on up to the White House.

We seem to be wedded to a two-party system for all sorts of good and logical reasons. Some are constitutional: our diverse federal system needs all sorts of glue and ready channels of inter-communication, and our party system does an essential part of this job. Some of the reasons are legal: have you ever, as an exercise in sheer intellectual schizophrenia, thought about the endless complexities involved in stitching together a third party, in all 50 states, so that it could seriously contest for national power?

And some of the reasons for this attachment can only be described as intellectual or even emotional: this seems to be the way that most Americans *want* to operate their political system and to provide for the orderly transition of power, from time to time, and from party to party.

In one of our post-election polls, great concern was expressed—even among a healthy 25 per cent of Democrats—that the results of the 1964 elections opened too wide a gap between the strength of the two parties. This, I submit, is evidence of the sort of deep commitment that most Americans feel toward the preservation of a highly competitive two-party system.

And well they might. They have only to look at multi-party democracies, the world over, for evidence of the confusion and instability that is the inevitable price of multiple parties—each one ideologically pure, but no one of them capable of governing. . . .

Well, then, assuming just for the sake of argument that I'm substantially right about all that I've just said—that means we want to preserve our two-party system, pretty much as we find it. And that, in turn, means we need not one but two major contenders for political power and national leadership.

And that gets me right back to the Republican party—which, for three decades now, seems to have been running out of gas.

Which leaves us Republicans *where*, so far as our future course is concerned?

The first and most obvious course of action would be simply to appeal to the sense of commitment of the American people to this political system of ours—just throw ourselves on their mercy and expect an occasional crumb of preferment and power, if only to keep the other fellows a little bit more honest. This course, obviously, deserves nothing but contempt, and I offer it only to clear the decks of alternatives which are logical but absurd.

Only one cut better would be to depend wholly on the swing of the pendulum—on that sense of disquiet and latent dissatisfaction that our post-election survey revealed. But this course, passive and negative and purely defensive, would not be worthy of a serious contender for national leadership. And the response of the American people would probably be to unlimber the sewing machine and stitch together a third party, hard as that may be, in order to replace the Republicans with a sense-making political party at the earliest possible opportunity.

Do Demos Have Formula?

More within the range of the arguable—and even within that of the debate now rumbling along inside the councils of the party—is a third possible course: since the Democrats, on the record, seem to have discovered the key to all-but-perpetual electoral success, why not adapt a Republican program to the basic outlines of the Democrats'—with just a shade of difference, here and there, a frown on profligacy in public finance, and a variation in the timing of the advent of the "Great Society." And then, depending on the inevitable tides in personal fortune, popularity and external events, sit back and await a still occasional but somewhat more regular alternation in political power. The policies and programs would remain much the same—only the names and faces would change.

I realize that someone more sympathetic to this approach than I could make a better case for it—but there you have a conceivable alternative.

I reject it. And whereas in cases one and two, my grounds were either absurdity or self-defeating negativism, this one I would reject on grounds of principle. I deny that the best interests of the American people can ever be served by a cynical evasion of constructive debate—and that, it seems to me, is what "me-tooism" amounts to—or by a bland admission that the whole record of Republicanism, all its platforms and all its campaigns, were worth something less than hot air and the paper they were written on.

I have a practical objection, too: when offered either the genuine article or an obvious substitute, why would the American people buy second-hand goods? I'm confident that they wouldn't, not for a minute.

But there is, of course, a fourth possible course: and that is the way of principle.

I have no intention of trotting out, at this point in my argument, the Dean Burch handy catechism of patented principles—nor even Barry Goldwater's. There is another recourse, and it comes right out of the mouths of the American people themselves: their own self-identification, when you ask them directly, that they consider themselves to be "conservatives"—by a tally of roughly 4 to 3. And every professional survey I've seen confirms this finding.

Many Conservative Issues

Ask them to get more specific, and this fact—this deep-lying conservatism of the American people—is further confirmed. On issue after issue, healthy majorities or pluralities of the electorate, pretty much across the board, including always substantial numbers of Democrats—identify themselves with views that, on my showing, *have* to be labeled conservative. Issues like these:

- too much government spending on welfare programs;
- too much federal intrusion into the private economic sector;
- too much shift of power away from our states and local communities;
- too much labor union influence within the federal establishment;
- too little firmness in preserving the free world from world Communist imperialism.

Ask them to get more specific still, on issues directly involved in the past campaign, and majorities of from 75 to 90 per cent support the Republican positions on school prayers, on recent Supreme Court decisions with respect to reapportionment, on foreign aid, and on the prosecution of the war in Viet Nam.

These are, I repeat, the principles of conservatism; they are the principles on which the Republican party has made its historic record; they are, indeed, the principles of the 1964 campaign waged by Sen. Goldwater. And—if you believe George Gallup, Lou Harris and Sam Lubell—they are the preferred positions of more Americans than not.

These make up the platform and ought to shape the performance of the kind of Republican party that I suggest *can* and *will* make continued sense of the two-party system in America.

What Happened in '64

Well, then, let me put the question that must already have occurred to you—what on earth happened in 1964?

Good question—and I'm by no means sure I know the answer. I do, though, have some informed guesses.

One thing that happened was the sudden and shocking death of John Kennedy, who would have been an incumbent with serious weaknesses and on whose spotty legislative record much campaigning had already been waged.

Another thing that happened was the accession of a busy new President, riding on a massive wave of sympathy, with spectacular legislative skills and no bashfulness about using the full range of his enormous powers, the muscle of a $100-billion federal budget, a pen that could instantly punish sinners and reward the faithful—in sum, all the manipulative techniques of a federal establishment the likes of which the modern world has never seen, and which no democratic republic has ever been able to bear for long.

Yet other things happened, too: a bitter and protractive pre-convention campaign left wounds in the body of Republicanism that are only now beginning to heal; the business community—in part, maybe, because of all that budgetary muscle—deserted its traditional home in the Republican party; the Negro community deserted us, too, for reasons that shock and sadden me because of the basic cynicism that undercuts the Democratic position on equal rights for all Americans; and a general *feeling* of peace and prosperity was a tremendous barrier to any change in leadership.

Finally, we never were able to cut through a mass communications filter that turned an almost excessive candor on the part of our candidate into the appearance, at least, of radicalism and irresponsibility.

All this happened—and, inevitably, we lost.

But what didn't happen, what couldn't possibly have happened in the few months available to us, was a reversal of three decades of ingrained expectations—of public policies, some good, some bad, all of them subject to improvement, that seem to have become public habits.

Beginning Was Made

A beginning *was* made—in my view, an absolutely necessary beginning—so that, next time out, we can build on the strengths represented by all those conservatively-oriented views that great numbers of Americans seem to hold. And next time out, we can take advantage of the inevitable public disenchantment with an Administration that cannot much longer avoid facing up to the problems that beset us around the world.

There are lots of chickens that are going to start roosting on its doorstep when the costs of the "Great Society" are added up—costs that will deeply affect every American pocket, and far more important costs in personal freedom and self-discipline.

You may still object and raise the question: who cares, any more, about personal freedom? And who wants to be *burdened* with self-discipline? These are good questions indeed—and again, I have no ready answers for you. But to raise them is to shift the focus of our discussion: we will no longer be talking about anything so minor as the future of a party system; we will be talking about the future of the American Republic itself.

So I add it all up—the party system that most of us seem to prefer and that works so well; the need for two parties that appeal to the interests of a broad cross-section of the American community; the solid foundations of a Republican party based on widely-held principles—I add it all up, and I come out confident about the future of both the party and the party system.

Mind you, I'm talking about something far more than traditional political action. What I'm talking about is part political party—part schoolhouse; part ward and precinct organization—and part mass communications campaign. And I'm talking about a concerted effort not of a month or a year or two or four years—but one stretching all the way from here to the day when a majority of Americans decide they want to recapture their own government, and put it to the uses that *they* determine to be good—to make it, again, the servant of a free and disciplined and self-governing people.

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Can We Trust Government to 'Beautify' Us?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Now that the Johnson Administration has decided to use the federal power to beautify the landscape and to take pollution out of our streams and lakes and the circumambient air, you will probably be hearing a lot about the new economic concept of "social costs."

The argument, which is familar to Britishers and continental Europeans, is that free capitalism imposes "costs" on the community that cannot be charged back to any businesses in particular. A small community gradually becomes a big one—and suddenly the combined fumes from thousands of motor cars and the combined discharge of scores of smokestacks become a staggering burden on everybody living in a given area. Someone may get lung cancer from breathing the polluted atmosphere, but how do you charge any particular culprit with the "social cost" of the cancer victim's hospitalization and surgery?

The pollution of nearby streams and lakes may force families to big expenses for seaside vacations far from their homes, but how charge that back to specific individuals or companies? To take care of the "social costs" the government has to step in to force car owners to attach smog-control gadgets to their cars and to provide for community clean-up drives. It has to take charge of the reforesting of denuded areas and provide segregated areas for junk heaps. So the justification goes for federal interference of the type that President Lyndon Johnson has proposed.

The drawback to the argument that the "community" must somehow shoulder the "social costs" that escape reflection in the balance sheets of private industry is that the politicians who normally represent the community are apt to be just as deficient in taste and standards as anybody else.

Take the New York City subway system, for example. It is dirty, the advertisements that it spots in its cars are just as much an affront to the eyes as the billboards on private property next to public roads, and the service at peak hours is terrible. If it could be turned over to General Motors, it would be considerably improved.

Or take Yellowstone Park, for example, and compare it with the privately run vacation operation at Sun Valley in Idaho. The natural wonders of Yellowstone cannot be duplicated elsewhere, but the publicly run accommodations in our national parks do not compare with what the Union Pacific Railroad can offer for comparable prices at its vacation site terminals. The "social costs" of any park can be observed in the broken glass and the sagging fences and the molestation dangers that somehow escape the ability of municipalities to clean them up.

Some public buildings are a delight to look at, but all too often they represent new lows in esthetic taste. There is no more guarantee that a state or a city or the federal government will hire a competent architect than there is a guarantee that a private industry won't erect just one more barbarous boxlike structure of unimaginative glass.

The "social cost" of an army establishment is ordinarily levied on the individual in terms of ugly barracks. In Britain, the so-called council houses erected by the government are horrible to behold; and if recent reports are to be believed, their deficient heating systems are responsible for an upsurge of respiratory diseases. When the government gets into business, it is invariably a prey to civil service featherbedding. Indeed, the chief argument offered by Secretary of Defense McNamara for closing down publicly owned shipyards is that the "social costs" of operating them were coming too high.

None of this is to be construed as an argument against beautifying the landscape and getting the smog out of our city air and making it possible once more for self-respecting fish to live in our lakes and rivers. But the "social cost" argument applies to what government does no less than it applies to private industry. If President Johnson can beautify our surroundings, that will be just fine and dandy. But the inability of government to keep a public washroom clean should make him wary about turning the responsibility for our surroundings over to any bureaucracy.

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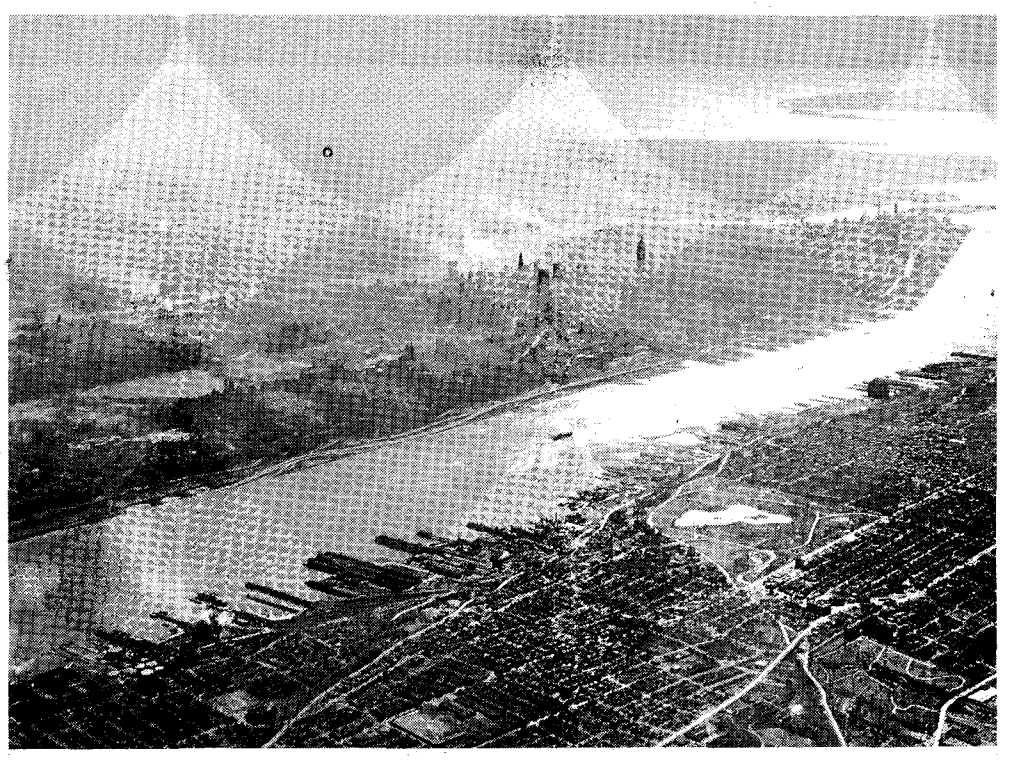

Although many cities such as New York (above) have problems like air pollution, the past record of government bureaucracies does not indicate that federal money is the answer.

Intelligence Warning:

U.S. Faces Pressure on 3 Fronts

From the Allen-Scott Report

The Moscow-Peking asking price for a settlement in South Viet Nam is a lot higher than either U.S. or Communist officials are indicating in their public statements.

They are shooting for an over-all Asian settlement that would include the withdrawal of U.S. troops and military advisers from South Korea, South Viet Nam and Formosa, and a complete revamping of the United Nations.

These are the major Soviet demands presented to Ambassador Foy Kohler during his backstage conferences in Moscow with high-level Russian officials, including Leonid Brezhnev, first secretary of the Communist party.

In confidential cables to the State Department, Kohler has startled U.S. authorities by reporting that the Soviet leaders are acting as if they hold most of the trump cards in the South Viet Nam conflict.

Walt Whitman Rostow is chairman of the State Department's policy planning staff.

He has stressed that the Russians appear in no hurry to accept President Johnson's private pleas for a Geneva-type conference until the United States agrees to their demands for a wider Asian settlement with advance concessions.

According to intelligence authorities, this tough Moscow stand is based on Soviet knowledge that the President is committed to a political conference, and that the Viet Cong have the power to give the United States a real bloody nose in South Viet Nam despite our bombing raids to the north.

"As long as they know in advance the United States will attend a conference under almost any circumstances," wrote one intelligence expert in a report critical of present U.S. policy, "why should the Soviet leaders agree to a meeting while their Viet Cong agents are winning in South Viet Nam?"

Second Front

The intelligence authorities, who view things much differently than the President and his chief policy-makers, are warning that the Russians plan to open a second guerrilla front in South Korea, where clandestine Communist activities have been increasing.

Although the policy-makers disagree, the intelligence experts link Premier Kosygin's stopover in North Korea to the Moscow-Peking pressure on President Johnson for a broader conference.

Since the United States has nearly 50,000 combat troops in South Korea, any new behind-the-lines or frontal military actions by the North Korean Communists could trigger a situation as explosive as that in South Viet Nam.

The intelligence officials are forecasting a series of Communist-instigated student demonstrations against both U.S. troops and the government of President Chung Hee Park.

It was an outburst of student anger, touched off by Communist agitators, that overthrew the Rhee regime more than four years ago. The Park government, which seized power a year later, has only reluctantly curbed students, because of strong State Department pressure not to act against this group.

Third Front

The Russians are pumping a steady stream of weapons into the Congo to further press President Johnson to accept their settlement terms.

As reported in this column earlier, the Soviet has established an arms airlift to the Congolese rebels who are preparing to launch a major offensive against the Congo government forces early in March.

Unless the United States massively steps up its military aid to Premier Tshombe, his pro-West government will be toppled by the Russian-armed rebels.

In light of these ominous developments, intelligence experts contend that President Johnson's strike-for-strike raids into North Viet Nam are no substitute for a policy that would force Moscow to end its support of local "wars of destruction."

As long as the President makes no effort to use U.S. economic, diplomatic or military pressure to penalize the Russians for their arms traffic, intelligence warns, the advance of communism cannot be turned back.

Rostow's Policy

In keeping the Soviet leaders informed on U.S. military intentions in bombing North Viet Nam, the President is following a policy prepared by Dr. Walt Rostow, chairman of the State Department's policy planning staff.

Drafted by Rostow and approved by the National Security Council during the Kennedy Administration, the policy spells out these guidelines:

"To avoid or minimize crises promoted or exploited by the Soviet Union, we should seek continuing communications, informal as well as formal, direct as well as indirect, designed to convey to Moscow a clearer understanding of our intentions.

"Such communications, if they are judged in Moscow to be backed by both military resources and the will to use them, may move the Communist leadership to judge it unprofitable to press as hard as they otherwise would in certain areas and situations."

Significantly, Rostow's policy paper proposed that the United States "avoid being moved by rising tensions or by the importunities of our allies or of our own public to prolong and expand the crisis or conflict in an effort to inflict a dramatic humiliation on the Communists."

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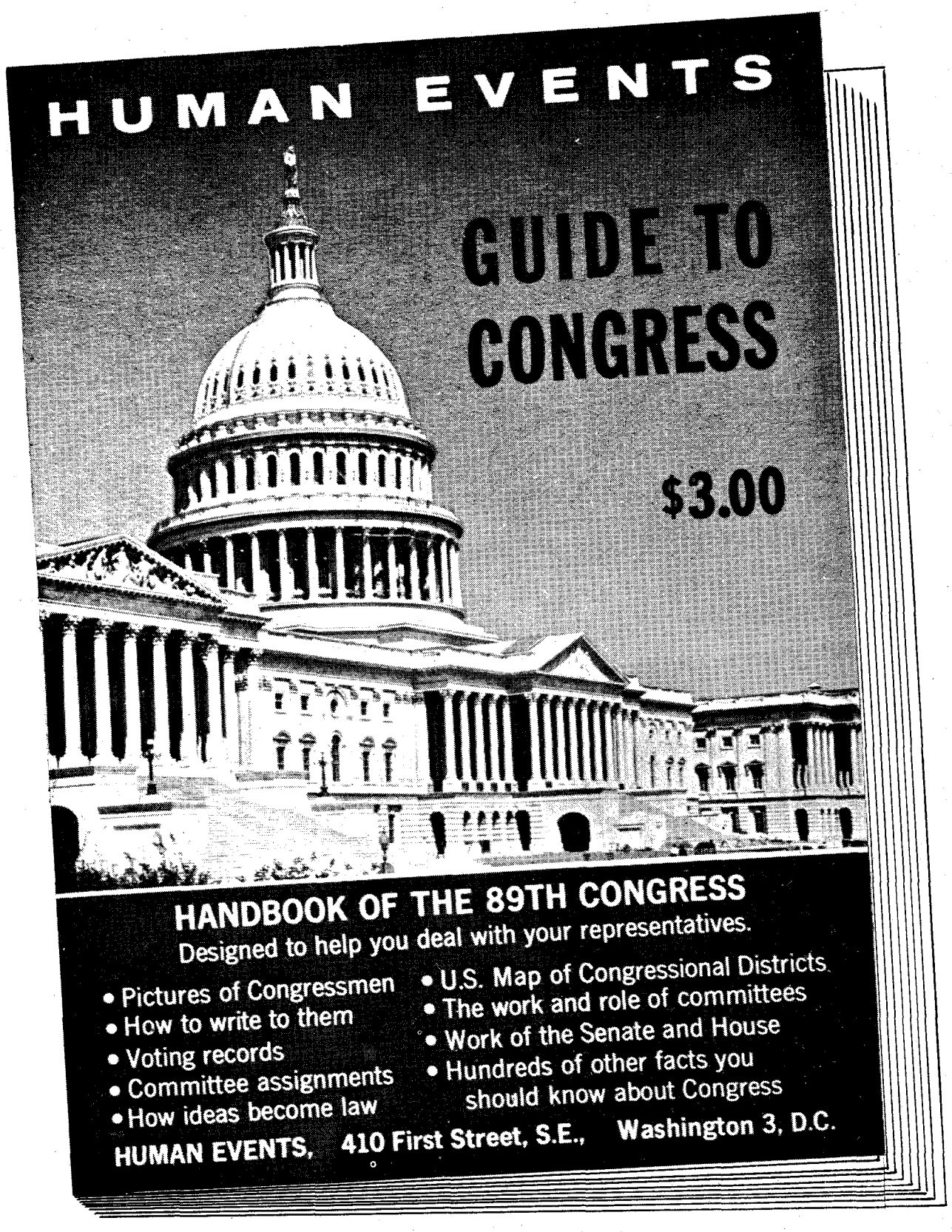
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The Politics Behind Civil Rights in Selma

By ALLAN H. RYSKIND

The 1964 Civil Rights Act is still in swaddling clothes, but Dr. Martin Luther King already wants revisions. And he has picked up impressive support for this cause as a result of his vote-drive escapade in the once sleepy town of Selma, Ala.

Since King's fresh forays into the Cotton State, the White House has dropped word that it will seek new procedures to secure Negro voting rights. AFL-CIO President George Meany, who refused to lend support to the March on Washington, has endorsed King's "crusade" for more Negro voters.

Stirred by King's doings, 15 liberal congressmen from outside the South—12 Democrats and three Republicans—swooped down indignantly on Selma February 5 for a half-day probe of the situation, "to learn the history of the past 100 years in a few hours," as one Southerner remarked sarcastically. Back they came to Washington eager to introduce new federal voting measures.

In the vanguard of the congressmen venturing into Dixie were such self-appointed civil rights champions as Rep. Charles Mathias (R.-Md.), a mild-mannered liberal, and John Conyers (D.-Mich.), a red-hot radical who is still a member of the Communist-cited National Lawyers Guild.

Political observers in both Washington and Selma read far more into this gushing "bi-partisan" support for King's goals, however, than the normal desire to give the Negro a "fair shake." For many of those currently clinging to King's coattails seem to have a far different purpose in mind than racial justice: They would like to deliver a death blow to the growing Republican party in the South.

These political forces believe the Negro, largely Democratic since the Roosevelt era, can deal a *coup de grace* to the GOP, particularly because of the Negro's alienation from the party in '64 as a result of the deliberately falsified picture of Goldwater's civil rights stand.

In Democratic strategy sessions, there has been a dramatic recognition that a surging tide of Republicanism is sweeping over the South and that only the untapped "Negro vote" can dam the flood. The Goldwater candidacy brought new Dixiecrat states into the GOP fold, helped raise the winning percentage of incumbent Southern Republicans and swept seven freshman Southerners into the House of Representatives.

With South Carolina's Strom Thurmond switching his Democratic party allegiance and Rep. Albert Watson resigning his seat to run as a Republican, Democrats are fretting that their days as a dominant Dixie force may be numbered.

Democratic party loyalists in Alabama shudder when you mention 1966; Republicans are presently mulling over the possibility of contesting every Democratic post. Gaining ground rapidly since 1961, Alabama Republicans sent five new congressmen to the House in 1964 and elected GOPers right down to the county court house.

A recent AFL-CIO political memorandum reveals that "Two-thirds of the contested county offices in Alabama switched from Democratic to Republican, destroying the Democratic base at the local level . . . ."

No wonder Democrats are supporting King's drive to register voters they believe will go down-the-line Democratic!

The urgency for Democrats to register Negro voters was recently driven home by Democratic Whip Hale Boggs of Louisiana. In the Congressional Hotel here in Washington in mid-January, Boggs, who had just survived a close race, poured his woes into the sympathetic ear of Stewart Udall. Pounding a table, Boggs asked the secretary of the interior for federal voting aid: "You've got to register more Negroes, Stew, or I won't get elected next time around."

Nor are the Democrats the only ones fervently wishing King a crowning success. While claiming "Negro equality" as the reason for pressing registration drives in the South, many GOP "moderates" seem just as interested as the Democrats in ridding the South of Republicans.

In its astounding 1964 election report, that "moderate Republican" creature, the Ripon Society, takes Goldwater to task for trying to woo the South, repudiates as unworthy the election of five Alabama Republicans to the House of Representatives and, without a particle of proof, libels Sen. Strom Thurmond as a "racist Democrat from South Carolina."

The chief reason a number of liberal Republicans would like to defeat their Southern Republican colleagues, say politicos, actually has nothing to do with racial justice, but political power.

The greater the number of Southern Republicans elected, the more conservative becomes the base of the GOP. The more conservative the party, the less influence the "moderates" will have in the party machinery. Hence, the liberal Republicans' feverish drive to register Negroes in the South en masse—whether qualified or not.

Evans and Novak recently indirectly quoted Bobby Kennedy as saying that "so many Southern Negroes are really functional illiterates that it would be next to impossible to register them under literacy statutes even if no racial discrimination existed." Yet "progressive" Republicans—like New Jersey's Sen. Clifford Case—are pressing demands for an end to literacy tests.

The drive to stamp out conservative Republicans in the South goes a long way toward explaining the sudden bipartisan liberal concern over Selma.

In fact, Selma is far from the cauldron of racial conflict pictured by politically motivated forces. Selma has been making steady progress in racial relations, in spite of observations of GOP Reps. Mathias, Morse and Reid, during a three-hour stopover on February 5.

Cities disrupted by racial turmoil find their industries exiting. But business is moving into Selma. In the midst of King's recent agitation, the Hammermill Paper Co., of Erie, Pa., a firm with a good "fair employment practices" record, announced that it would construct a $25-million plant in the town. And Dan River Mills has begun construction of a textile mill.

Other signs of racial progress abound: The city has opened its public accommodations to Negroes, with Dr. King receiving a room in the Hotel Albert, considered an historic landmark by its citizens.

The influential Selma *Times-Journal*, the only paper for the city's 29,000 inhabitants, has been in the forefront of those championing harmony between races. Its editor, Roswell Falkenberry, has urged the population to obey the 1964 Civil Rights law. And he has sharply scolded local law enforcement officials when he feels they have been wrong.

At one time the city had the largest Citizens Council in the state and an active Ku Klux Klan. But such elements have not appeared, even during King's tempestuous stay. "Neither has been in evidence during the demonstrations," reported the February 14 New York *Times*. "White toughs," the *Times* also conceded, "have been kept off the streets."

In the area of voting rights, the Dallas County Board of Registrars, which is located in Selma, the county seat, requested and received from the state legislature permission to remain open an extra 10 days in January to encourage the registration of all citizens. (All registration is conducted completely under state law, the local authorities having no power to change any rules.)

"On the first six day of the extra 10 days allowed for registration," said Rep. Jim Martin (R.-Ala.), "only a trickle of applicants showed up, and these were both Negro and white. Then on the seventh day, at a signal by the leader, a melange of humanity descended on the town and the courthouse." This picture is verified by other Selma residents.

It would have been impossible, says Martin, for any community to handle such an overwhelming surge of applicants.

"I would like to remind you," Martin told his congressional colleagues, "of the complaints made last year here in the District of Columbia because applications for registration were not processed fast enough . . . Yet, there were no congressional delegations charging that the voters of the district were being denied the right to vote. There were no masses of newspapermen, and radio and TV people to show the lines of applicants, there were no calls for action against the district commissioners or the registrars.

"Among the hundreds of applicants descending upon the Dallas County Courthouse on the seventh day of registration were many who were already registered, many who had no desire to register, many who obviously were not of age to register, many who were not residents of Selma or Dallas County or, indeed, the state of Alabama. There were children, taken out of school illegally to swell the ranks and who were delighted to sing and dance and the opportunity to get a day off from school. There were many who could neither read nor write and required more than a half hour merely to sign their names . . . There was so much mass confusion the judges were impelled to suspend the courts."

Critics point out, of course, that Federal Judge Daniel H. Thomas of Mobile found Selma guilty of discriminating against Negro voters on February 4. This discrimination was not clearly nor entirely spelled out, but all his orders are being complied with.

As a result of his decision, subsequently modified, Negroes, in any number, are allowed each day of the week, between 9:30 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. to sign an "appearance" sheet in a book at the court house. If the board cannot show good cause why those who sign this sheet have not been registered by July, the judge may, under the 1964 Civil Rights Act, make sure they are.

At any rate, whatever the defects, they are in the process of being cured. But even this will probably not curtail the campaigning of Democrats and "modern" Republicans who seek new federal voting laws for their own cynical political purposes.

Sign-carrying young Negroes sing and chant as they stage a demonstration at the courthouse in Selma, Alabama, February 5. They were protesting over voter registration.

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History of Federal Control

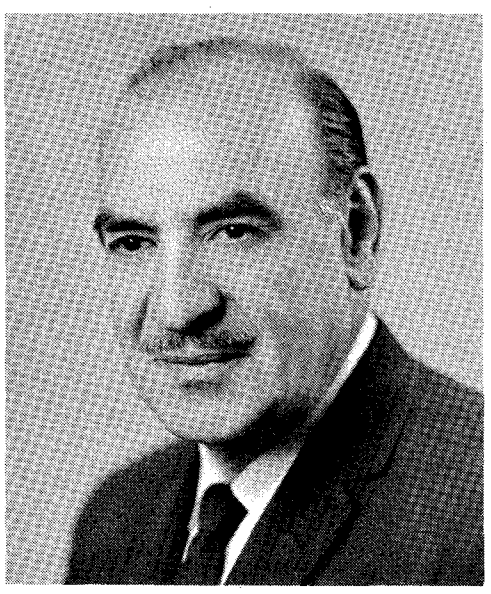
Agriculture: A Warning to Education

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

There may not be a better administrator in town than Anthony Celebrezze, the articulate secretary of health, education and welfare, but even the best administrators tend to become like medieval bell-ringers—tone-deaf and shut off from communication with surrounding events.

Mr. Celebrezze, as lead-off witness to the House special subcommittee on education, made an excellent case for the President's crash program for federalizing education—"the Number One business of the American people," LBJ has called it. But in the course of his testimony the secretary cheerfully likened this centralization drive to the one which has taken place in agriculture.

A man with acute hearing wouldn't have done that. The chorus of criticism on what has happened to centralized agriculture ought to warn anybody that we'd better not allow our zeal for education to lead us to the monstrous mistakes of the farm fiasco.



HEW Secretary Anthony Celebrezze likened the education centralization drive to the one which has taken place in agriculture.

Consider where we landed in agriculture by making the pell-mell dash to centralize, standardize, overbuild and underpresonalize that vital phase of American activity. Do we want the statistical profile of education someday to resemble the Great Stoneface of agriculture?

The bureaucracy of Farmland has increased between the secretaryships of Wallace and Benson by 20 per cent, while farms have decreased by 40 per cent. Aside from administration expense, the government spent (lost) $2.-7 billion last year in its centralized support of farm prices, but failed to improve the farmer's income, although the national income went up. The $7 billion budgeted for farm expenditures in 1963 is being desperately whittled since Mr. Johnson took office, but the knife work has done little more than slow up the automatic rate of bureaucratic growth. That growth responds to Parkinson's law of proliferation rather than to the will of the executive and the Congress.

Book learning, of course, is not the same as food production, but it's possible to have too much of both, good things that they are. We hardly know where to pile, to donate, to sell or dump our wheat any more (we have been driven to sending some to Russia). The same could happen with surplus scholarship, especially if it's concentrated in mathematics and the physical sciences, as is now the educative trend.

But long before we have to worry about any superabundance in scholarship, we'll have the suffocating problem of overgrowth in educational bureaucracy. Chairwoman Edith Green (D.-Ore.), who heads the subcommittee which heard Secretary Celebrezze, has collected some figures which show that this danger is not unreal.

There are 42 departments, agencies and offices of government already involved in the federalization of American education. In addition, there are 15 of the same involved in training foreigners who have come here for education. There are 13 Senate committees and 19 House committees which are called upon to study bills on education.

The confusion is so dense and the growth so rapid that Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff (D.-Conn.), Celebrezze's immediate predecessor in HEW, has a bill (S. 100) to create a Department of Education and sweep all the problems into it. But the building of another marble palace to house another empire-building Cabinet officer doesn't sound like a plausible method of getting the right Americans educated in the right subjects and to the right extent.

The federalizing of agriculture and the resultant chaos may not make the perfect analogy with what could happen in education. But it makes a real good warning.

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ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS scandals of our time involves the construction of the Veterans Administration Hospital in Boston at a cost of $10.5 million. Even before the structure was completed and fully occupied, it began to disintegrate. It is estimated that reconstruction costs will total $4.9 million. This reconstruction is underway and it is being done by a New York firm, not the McCloskey Construction Co. of Philadelphia, the original contractor. The situation became so critical last December that thermal blankets had to be flown to Boston to keep the veteran patients from freezing. The McCloskey Construction Co. is headed by Matthew McCloskey, former ambassador to Ireland and currently involved in the Bobby Baker mess.—Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R.-Neb.)

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"OUR CONSTITUTION sets out certain qualifications for those who serve in the executive and legislative branches of the government. . . . Under existing law, there are no requirements or qualifications for an appointment to the U.S. Supreme Court. It is not even necessary that the person be a trained lawyer. I think this is a mistake—there is no substitute for legal and judicial experience in our high courts. . . . It is disturbing that of the nine judges (now sitting) only three have had prior judicial experience that would help in the maturing and tempering of their minds for the tasks which they must face as members of the highest court in this great free nation."—Sen. Milward L. Simpson (R.-Wyo.)

□ □ □

PRESIDENT JOHNSON talked on January 20th as if our only enemies were Poverty, Injustice, Illness and Ignorance. This, is a manner of speaking, is saying that our worst enemy is ourselves. But a lot of Americans must have been thinking: 'Not while world communism is alive, Mr. President.'"—Columnist Holmes Alexander.

The Railroads and Nationalization

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Now comes the National Railway Labor Conference to propose that America's railroads be nationalized. Behind this ploy is the annoyance of the railroad brotherhoods which have fought against progress in management and lost. Had they won the battle, the railroads in time would have really been a squeezed lemon. They are now showing that given slightly sympathetic treatment they can set their house in order and contribute to the American economy as they did in the past.

Those who cry for nationalization forget that, at one time, the federal government did experiment in control and operation of the railroads. During World War I the government took over the roads—and ran them at a deficit of almost $2 million per day even though it raised fares and rates. During World War II the roads remained in private hands—and were so profitable that they contributed more than $3 million a day in federal taxes. As the Association of American Railroads points out, "The difference to the public between government and private operation in the two wars was $5 million a day—nearly $2 billion a year."

The call for nationalization, however, involves factors other than profitable operation. If the government were to take over the railroads, it would have to pay for them. What this would mean to the taxpayer is no mystery. Under New York's reform Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, the city took over the subways—then operating at a 5-cent fare—and has been paying through the nose ever since. Fares are now 15 cents, and service gets worse all the time. The price paid by the city was, in reality, just a first installment.

The government would inherit a Pandora's box of problems with the railroads. At present, the major issue dividing management and labor is featherbedding. The unions, like it or not, insist on manning the railroads as if they were still operating in 1914. Faster trains, new methods of shipping, new techniques—all these are ignored. The unions still insist that handicraft work rules apply to a production-line era.

If the government were in control, the moderately successful efforts to modernize procedures would stop. After all, a voter might be hurt. So deficits would skyrocket and service would decline—all for the dubious virtues of government-owned railroads.

This process can be measured by the French experience. The railroads in France run at a 20 per cent deficit—with the French equivalent of thee and me making up the difference. In the United States, the railroads—saddled though they are by outmoded work rules—are paying 5 per cent of their take into the federal Treasury. This means a 25 per cent gain to those who must support the federal establishment—again, thee and me.

But the best argument of all against nationalization is simply this: Should the government take over the railroads simply because the unions aren't getting as much as they want in their collective bargaining? You answer it.

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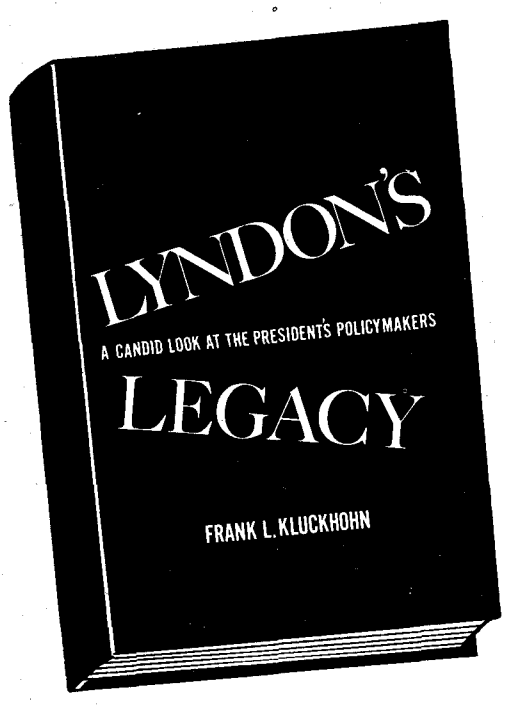
HERE IS THE "GREAT SOCIETY" AND ITS

CURIOUS CREW



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ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Frank L. Kluckhohn knows Washington inside as few do. Among his important positions he has been Advisor to the first Secretary of Defense and, from 1955 to 1961, was a Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Security and Consular Affairs in the State Department. For almost 20 years he was a New York Times foreign and Washington correspondent, covering the White House for many years. During World War II he went overseas and reported on all the Allied landings, from the first one in Africa to the last in Japan. The author of America: Listen! and other books, he is now a free-lance writer whose articles have appeared in many major national magazines.

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DuBois Clubs Are Recruiting For Red World Youth Festival

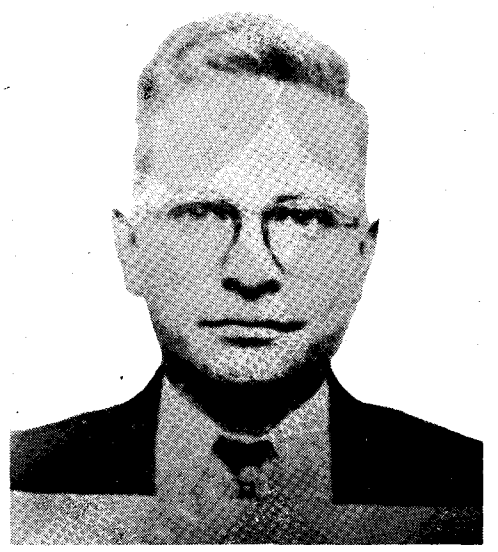
By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Leaders of the Communist Party, U.S.A, hope to send several hundred delegates to the 9th World Youth Festival, scheduled for Algiers in August.

More than 15,000 delegates from both sides of the Iron Curtain will be on hand to chant Communist slogans and denounce American imperialism. The festival is sponsored by the International Union of Students and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, both of which are Communist-controlled.

Top American Communists recently met in Moscow to map festival strategy. They learned from the party's bright young organizational secretary, Mortimer Daniel Rubin, that leaders of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs would direct recruiting for the Algiers bash.

Rubin has warned DuBois Club leaders throughout the country that extraordinary precautions must be taken to prevent the infiltration of the U.S. delegation by anti-Communist youth.



Party organizer Mortimer Daniel Rubin wants to prevent anti-Communists from infiltrating U. S. delegation.

In 1959, it is recalled, a group of spunky young students managed to win places on the U.S. delegation to the 7th World Youth Festival, at Vienna. The anti-Communist Americans were exposed as "imperialist spies" but turned over voluminous information to the FBI and the House Un-American Activities Committee.

During congressional hearings that followed, leaders of the American delegation repeatedly invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked about their Communist ties.

Party leaders invoked tight security precautions in 1962, but again anti-Communist students won a few places on the U.S. delegation. And again, the students reported back to the FBI and Congress.

The head of the U.S. delegation at the 1962 festival in Helsinki was Michael Myerson, a California leftist. Myerson will again participate in festival planning: he is an official of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

Another DuBois Club official, Carl Bloice, conferred recently with festival officials in Moscow. Bloice, who is the group's publications director, doubles as a reporter for the West Coast Communist organ, *The People's World.*

Note: A confidential government report reveals the nature of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America—the group that will direct recruiting for the 9th World Youth Festival.

The report states:

"The Communist party's general secretary, Gus Hall, ordered the formation of a new Marxist youth organization at a party meeting in October, 1963. Hall's orders were implemented when delegates were instructed to attend a conference in Chicago in December, 1963. At this conference, the delegates formulated plans for a national founding convention, to be held in June, 1964. At this convention, held in San Francisco, the delegates adopted the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America as the name for the new Marxist youth organization and selected San Francisco as the site for its headquarters.

". . .Communist party members are active at all levels of the DuBois Clubs organization. . .Many sons and daughters of leading Communist party members are active in the DuBois Clubs; officials and members of other Communist youth groups have been moved into the DuBois Clubs; Communist party members are asked to contribute funds for the DuBois Clubs; printing equipment for a Communist youth group has been turned over to the DuBois Clubs."

* * * *

Vice President Hubert Humphrey and Under Secretary of State George Ball last week gave their warm endorsement to the export to Communist Poland of West German machine tools.

They huddled with Berthold Beitz, the general manager of the German industrial giant, Krupp. They informed Beitz that the Administration welcomed a Krupp deal in which several million dollars of precision tools will be shipped to Poland.

The machine tools scheduled for Iron Curtain export have definite military potential, according to an expert on the Communist war machine. Poland, it is known, has supplied the North Vietnamese Reds with military hardware.

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EVERY GOVERNMENTAL OFFICIAL talks of eliminating it, but we still wouldn't be in any rush to unload whatever stock you may hold in a red tape factory.—By Senator Soaper in the Omaha (Neb.) *Evening World-Herald*

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"IT'S ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE to interest Democrats in trying to live within the nation's income when they are having such a hard time living within the nation's credit."—Rep. Harold R. Collier (R.-Ill.)

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FREEDOM'S ROAD—"The guiding principle in any attempt to create a world of free men must be this: A policy of freedom for the individual is the only truly progressive policy."—Friedrich A. Hayek in *The Road to Serfdom* (1944)

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Youth Opportunity Program

Counselors Paid More Than Teachers

From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

As might be expected, the establishment of the Youth Opportunity Centers, like that of any other addition to the ever-growing list of bureaus, is placing the usual emphasis on the creation of more and more good paying jobs.

It is sad but true that every time the government starts out to "aid" some segment of the population by establishment of a new bureau, most of the "aid" winds up in the pockets of those who administer the program instead of to those for whom it is ostensibly created.

One of the ridiculous aspects of the Youth Opportunity program, designed to aid school "dropouts" by teaching them job skills and helping them find employment commensurate with their ability, is the disparity between salaries set up for counselors and those paid school teachers.

In Columbus, Ohio, for instance, a number of city councilmen have sharply criticized both the number of counselors and advisors planned for the youth opportunity program in that city and the fact that the salaries to be paid (close to $8,000 per year) are far more than those paid school teachers.

The councilmen contend, and logically it seems to us, that the teachers' role in the program is at least as important as that of advisors who are for the most part not nearly as conversant with the real problem of the dropouts.

But inasmuch as the Youth Opportunity Centers are financed by "federal money," it is not likely that the protests will alter the pay structure. Americans still haven't learned that this "federal money" is their money and seem to think that the horn of plenty in Washington will blow forever.

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The multi-billion dollar TFX contract poses many unanswered questions.

TFX Should Still Be Watched

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Good or bad test flights notwithstanding, the controversial $6.5-billion TFX airplane (now called the F-111) is a bird to watch, and watch closely.

With it flies the reputation of the civilian hierarchy of the U.S. Defense Department, headed by Secretary Robert S. McNamara. And in its shadow flies the still unsettled story of the largest single defense contract in our history. That contract went to a Texas firm, the General Dynamics Corp., rather than to a company which had submitted a lower bid and better design, according to spokesmen for the armed services.

The TFX was tested recently. It flew well, although it weighed far more than called for in earlier specifications.

But no matter how well it flies, the TFX cannot accurately be evaluated unless the facts of its creation are remembered and used in the evaluation.

Of obvious importance is the matter of cost. Secretary McNamara, who made the decision on the contract against the almost unanimous advice of the military, sanctions a Defense Department statement that $1 billion will be saved by making the plane usable by all three military services. But there seems to be some question on this because of weight factors.

An early Navy version of the TFX (the F-111B) proved too heavy for flight decks and had to be redesigned. Just how much of the claimed billion-dollar savings was eaten up in this process is not known—but it should be.

It should be remembered that one of the reasons for choosing General Dynamics over the lower-bidding Boeing Aircraft Co. was that Boeing proposed using the light metal titanium in the TFX. McNamara claimed titanium was untested and couldn't be trusted. Perhaps he didn't foresee the weight problem in its proper light.

Also, it was the secretary who argued that the Texas company should have the contract because the Boeing bid was "unrealistic."

This claim also was hard to support. General Dynamics had built the F-102, the F-106 and the B-58 at costs that ran nearly 5 per cent over their bids. The cost to the government was $210 million more than expected. Boeing, on the other hand, built the C-97 and B-47, the KC-135 and the B-52 in the same period at costs 2 per cent under their bids. The saving to the government was some $100 million.

At the inception of the TFX controversy, Secretary McNamara issued a memorandum of "justification" for his decision which reportedly contained accounting errors of at least $32 million. The General Accounting Office said that the secretary's cost decision seemed to come from "rough judgment" and figures right off the top of his head.

How much has the plane actually cost, in comparison with the Boeing bid and the General Dynamics bid? Where have the costs of redesigning been included, or have they been hidden? To what extent has the Boeing design been used by General Dynamics? Is the plane acceptable to all three services? Will it be deployed and when?

These are just a few of the questions that must be answered—and answered quickly—if we are to judge the TFX and Secretary McNamara fairly on this multi-billion-dollar decision.

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POVERTY, the Council of Economic Advisers has discovered, is a sometime thing. In its 1965 report the council concedes that its preliminary analysis of the problem, made in 1964, no longer suffices. Now, it finds: "The number of poor families is smaller; the number of poor adults is reduced, especially among the aged. . . . The number of large families classified as poor increases, however, and most important. . . . one-fourth of the nation's children live in families that are poor." Moreover, it turns out that "a composite measure of poverty based upon income and asset criteria would exclude some older families now classified as poor." The council also notes that within a single year nearly one-fifth of the nation's poor rose above that condition, while a somewhat smaller number "fell into the low-income group." The inescapable conclusion is that the "war against poverty" is to be waged against an unknown enemy with untested weapons, for purposes yet to be defined.—From *Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly*

Why Social Security Is Failing

By DEAN RUSSELL in the *Freeman*

It is mathematically impossible for everyone to "get his money back" under our Social Security program. The total group of participants must necessarily get back *less* than they pay in. Here's why:

All of the costs of administering the program are, by law, supposed to be paid by the participants. Regardless of the amount of these administrative costs deducted by government from the "premiums" paid in, it is certain that the same money cannot be paid back to the "policy holders." That's why it is impossible for all of the participants to get back as many dollars as all of the participants pay in. Various individuals will unquestionably gain, especially those who get there first. But the group as a whole must unquestionably lose, especially the young people who are now compelled to pay for the next 30 or 40 years. There just isn't any way to avoid this "group loss" when the costs of administering the program can be met only from the money paid in by the group.

As a contrast, this is not true in the case of retirement income policies sold by private insurance companies. The premiums on real insurance offered by most private companies are keyed to an *expected return from invested funds*. Since these funds can be used for productive purposes, various companies and persons are quite willing to pay for them. Thus, private insurance companies can (and usually do) pay back to everyone more than everyone pays in; the participants as a group can all win.

When our government officials tell us that our Social Security funds are (like private insurance premiums) also invested and earn a return of three per cent, you might laugh—or perhaps cry. For the so-called "Social Security fund" is strictly nominal, since it amounts to less than one per cent of today's accrued liability. Even then, this woefully inadequate fund is "invested" by government in the government's own bonds. The interest that the government "earns" from its investment necessarily comes from you and me in the form of more taxes; there is no other place it can come from. That is why the government's Social Security scheme was mathematically and necessarily bankrupt from its inception; it was (and is) merely a political mechanism designed for persons who can be lulled into believing that the police power of government is the proper moral and financial base on which to build a sound retirement program.

The harsh reality of our financially and morally unsound Social Security program must be faced sooner or later; if not by our generation, then by our children and grandchildren. True enough, increases in premiums (up to some unknown point) can probably postpone the eventual collapse and the revolution that may follow it. Increased inflation can also be used by government to prolong the life of that unsound scheme. But our Social Security program will collapse eventually, since it is founded on continuing and automatic losses for the participants as a group.

Finally, have I based my argument on sound mathematical reasoning? Well, I think so, but I must admit that it was once challenged by a professor of economics. He pointed out that *all* taxpayers are compelled to pay interest on the government's debt, including the interest on those bonds in the Social Security fund. But not all of the "interest payers" draw Social Security.

Further, some taxpayers pay a greater part of the interest than do other taxpayers. Therefore, the professor deduced, it *is* theoretically and mathematically possible for the Social Security fund to pay back to all the participants more dollars than they pay in. "Now what do you say to that?" he challenged me.

Two things. First, the interest income from those bonds amounts to no more than four per cent of total Social Security benefit payments at present. And this amount will necessarily diminish in significance as the accrued liabilities further mount and the "fund" declines.

Let's arbitrarily assume that one-half of that amount (two per cent of current payments) comes from the taxes of nonparticipants in the Social Security program, and that the other half is paid by the participants themselves. Now by the same measurement, what is the total government cost for administering both the bond program and the Social Security program? No one knows, including the administrators. But surely it is at least 10 per cent. And based on the inherent inefficiencies of governmental operations, it could run as high as 25 per cent, if all costs (including alternate opportunity and such) were properly included. That would mean an automatic loss of at least eight per cent (probably much more) to the Social Security participants as a group.

Second, let us assume for the moment (incorrectly) that it is theoretically possible to make the Social Security program work mathematically by seizing income from persons. Only a depraved people could knowingly and willingly endorse such a cynical scheme. And when a nation's people sink to that low moral level, the mathematics of the situation become relatively unimportant.

Social Security Boosts

Even without any provision for a Medicare program, the following increases in Social Security taxes are already scheduled:

	Employe pays	Employer pays	Total
1963-65	$174	$174	$348
1966-67	198	198	396
1968-on	222	222	444

□ □ □

MORE NCC POLITICS—The National Council of Churches, claiming to represent some 40 million Protestants, is back in politics again (while maintaining its tax exemption that precludes efforts to influence legislation). Arthur S. Flemming, former secretary of health, education and welfare, has appeared for the National Council of Churches before a House committee to support the LBJ $1.2-billion plan of unconstitutional federal aid to education. Has your church taken a stand on this or any other bill? Has your congregation voted to engage in political intervention as a church? The National Council representative carried weight because he allegedly speaks for so many churches. But does he really?—From the Chattanooga *News Free-Press*

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